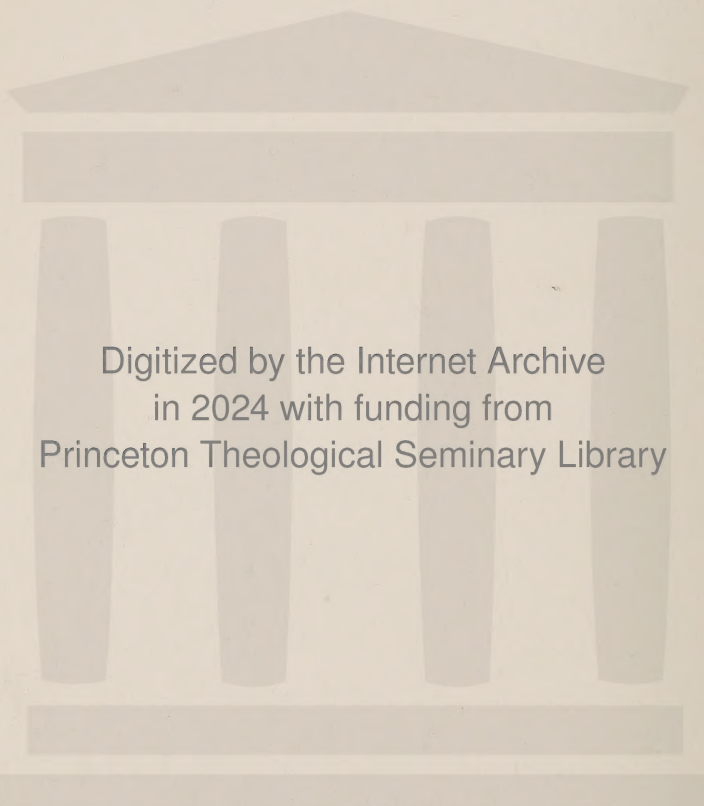


As Between Brothers



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As Between Brothers

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*The Story of
Lutheran Response
to World Need*

BY RICHARD W. SOLBERG

Auspices, Department of
World Service
Lutheran World Federation

AUGSBURG PUBLISHING HOUSE
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AS BETWEEN BROTHERS

The Story of Lutheran Response to World Need

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Dedicated

to the late

S. C. MICHELFELDER

The publication of this book was made possible by a contribution at the 1952 Hannover Assembly from the German churches to the Lutheran World Federation. This thank-offering was used partially to help the Brazilian Church in providing theological education and the remainder for the writing of this record of Lutheran response to need. The German churches intended that their gift should honor the memory of Dr. Michelfelder and to show their gratitude to God.

Introduction

Dr. Solberg has rendered an invaluable service to historic research as well as to the Lutheran World Federation by his book *As Between Brothers*. He gives a clear and stirring account of Lutheran World Service, that powerful and most important agency of the Lutheran World Federation. This federation is by far the largest single organization of World Protestantism, and Lutheran World Service is one of the most active factors of the modern ecumenical movement. This in itself justifies the publication of this scholarly work.

But closer inspection will reveal the fact that Dr. Solberg's book is far more than a history of a single organization. It is the dramatic story of spiritual forces overcoming a crisis which shook the foundations of modern society.

It will be memorable forever how, in these tumultuous years, Lutheran Christians met the crying needs of post-war Europe. They were motivated by the simple desire to help as it was expressed in the slogan of the first Lutheran World Convention at Eisenach in 1923: "We Want to Help One Another." It will be likewise memorable that the Lutheran Church, the church of justification by faith rather than by works, which was considered by some to be only a passive and theologically-minded church, first established its world-wide unity in the Lutheran World Federation by these acts of common love.

Dr. Solberg does not only depict in a masterful way the history

of these motivations, but he also gives a vivid account of those personalities who were leading in this field. So the pictures of some of the unforgettable leaders of the earlier days of World Lutheranism rise again out of the past: Dr. Morehead, Dr. Larsen, Dr. Boe, and, closest in time and affection, Dr. Michelfelder.

To the reader who considers these great figures there can be no doubt that the Lutheran Church of today has been entrusted with a great spiritual heritage which calls for devotion and dedication. But in following the tale of organizations and leading personalities one is always forced to remember also the simple Christian folks, the congregations which were willing to serve their Lord and Master in this magnificent crusade of love and charity. It really is a story worth telling, which calls for our gratitude and a renewal of the spirit of sacrifice.

Dr. Solberg is well equipped for this important task. He is a scholar of renown in the field of church history. Also his solid method of research and the breadth of his views have helped him to accomplish this excellent study. But in addition to this, there is that realistic touch which cannot be achieved only by study at the desk but which is conditioned by actual personal knowledge of the work. Dr. Solberg spent a long and valuable time in Europe as a servant of Lutheran World Service. So the reader of *As Between Brothers* enjoys the benefit of two great qualities which Dr. Solberg brings into this work. To his gift of a crystal-clear description of sometimes very complicated events he adds the clarity of the Christian heart which knows and understands human needs and the service of love. Dr. Solberg has fulfilled a very important task in church history and he has done it in such a way that he deserves of the gratitude of Lutherans all over the world.

BISHOP HANNS LILJE
President of the
Lutheran World Federation

Hannover, Germany
Pentecost, 1957

Foreword

A few months after the outbreak of World War II representatives of the National Lutheran Council gathered about their conference table in Chicago to lay the first plans for large-scale relief operations. With the hard-won achievements of two decades in world Lutheran unity already swept away, and with war and destruction taking their toll in one Lutheran country after another, these men felt deeply the seriousness of their task. Needs were great and would become greater. In the midst of the tensions of the moment some way of presenting the needs of the Church would have to be found which would lift people above political and national feelings onto the high level of Christian compassion for the suffering Body of Christ.

Turning to the Scriptures for guidance and encouragement, one councillor after the other cited appropriate injunctions to brotherly love and Christian sharing. Dr. Lars W. Boe, president of St. Olaf College and veteran member of the Lutheran World Convention Executive Committee, reminded his colleagues of the New Testament incident in which Jesus healed the man who had been blind since his birth. Our Lord's disciples who witnessed the miracle inquired whose fault it was that this man had been born blind. Jesus answered, "Neither this man's nor his parents', but that the name of God might be glorified."

Here, said Dr. Boe, was the soundest basis for an appeal to the Lutherans of America for the relief of suffering churches and

people, in whatever country they might be. Far beyond considerations of victory or defeat, no Christian could escape the pressing burden of responsibility for the plight of his fellow humans. But it was clear to all that in a ministry of mercy lay a matchless opportunity to glorify the name of God, whose love had been so great that through the Incarnation of His Son Jesus Christ He had identified Himself completely with human need at its deepest level.

This was the impulse that twice in this century moved the Lutheran Christians of the world to launch major cooperative efforts to clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and to help to repair the spiritual and physical destruction of war. In both World Wars the Lutheran church had had strong representation on both sides, and its members were not immune to the temptation to fasten blame at one point or another for the coming of the wars or for their sweeping destruction.

Instead, these tragic periods in the wake of wars have twice become opportunities for the Lutheran churches of both old and new worlds to glorify the name of God through what Dr. S. C. Michelfelder, first Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, often termed "the Gospel of the Inasmuch." And in each case, as an added blessing of God, there has come a fuller knowledge of one another and a deeper appreciation of their intimate relationship of faith and love. Lutherans of Norway and Sweden found themselves sending food and clothing to brethren in Rumania and in Hungary; German Lutherans collected money for a famine-ridden colony in Russia; and Americans learned for the first time of the existence of Lutheran churches in Poland and Yugoslavia when they were confronted with the needs of those countries. Efforts such as these following World War I, and the desire to continue the process of mutual strengthening of the Lutheran churches in all parts of the world, led in 1923 to the organization of the Lutheran World Convention at Eisenach in Germany.

In the same way, the tragic needs of 1945 and 1946, and the desire to minister to them in the name of Christ and of His Church, led directly to the founding of the Lutheran World Federation in

1947 at Lund, Sweden, an even stronger and closer family group than that of Eisenach twenty-four years earlier.

Thus has God used the catastrophes which man's willfulness and blindness have brought upon the world for undeserved blessing and enrichment. He has put into the hands of His Church the instruments through which, in humility and gratitude, it may continue to bind up the wounds that remain, and strengthen its members in all parts of the world.

In this mission of brotherly love the name and work of Dr. Michelfelder hold a position of special honor. More than that of any other person, his energetic leadership and devotion brought the Lutheran World Federation to fruition. When he died in 1951, on the eve of the Second World Assembly, the Lutheran churches of Germany gathered a thank-offering which they presented to the Federation as the Michelfelder Memorial. Most of that fund has been used to further the work which he began, but a portion of it was set aside for the preparation of this historical account of the great work of Lutheran World Service, to which he gave both his strength and his life. To the memory of Sylvester Clarence Michelfelder this book is respectfully dedicated.

RICHARD W. SOLBERG

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CHAPTER ONE

Rehearsal for Unity

On the 11th of November, 1918, the guns of World War I were silenced along the western front. Armistice had come, bringing to an end four years of the most destructive warfare ever to convulse the nations of the world. Frenzied celebrations of joy in hundreds of cities could not disguise the realities of ruin and despair in hundreds of others. The continent of Europe was prostrate.

Just one month later, on December 11, the newly-organized National Lutheran Council met in Columbus, Ohio, and authorized its Executive Committee to send a commission of five men "to visit the Lutheran churches in Europe for the purpose of Christian contact and helpfulness." During the war a combined Lutheran ministry to American soldiers and sailors had demonstrated the possibilities of effective Lutheran cooperation, and had given the impetus to the formation of the Council, but it was in the work of European church relief and reconstruction that it found its first major challenge.

Six months elapsed before three members of the Commission, Dr. John A. Morehead, president of Roanoke College in Virginia, Professor Sven Youngert of Augustana Seminary in Rock Island, Illinois, and the Reverend G. A. Fandrey of Chicago, Illinois, were

able to secure passports, but in this interim the Council had engaged in the first of its long series of fund-raising efforts for European relief. As part of a Joint Protestant Drive for twenty million dollars, the Lutherans set their goal at \$500,000, promptly exceeded it by gathering \$628,253.

MISSION OF MERCY

On the 5th of June, 1919, three of the commissioners sailed for France, aboard the *Lorraine*, under instructions from the National Lutheran Council to survey the problems of European Lutheran churches in countries which had been involved in the war, and to discover in how far those churches would need outside aid and counsel in solving those problems. They were to bring the sincere and cordial greetings of the Lutheran churches in America and their assurances of willing assistance. On the basis of information secured by the Commission, the Council then would be able to act intelligently in dispensing aid. The commissioners were given discretionary powers over \$50,000, but any additional expenditures were to be specifically authorized by the Council. They were also instructed to cooperate with the three agents in Paris for the Soldiers' and Sailors' Commission—Dr. Charles J. Smith, Mr. Frank M. Riter, and Professor M. J. Stolee.

The commissioners arrived in Paris in the midst of the assembling Peace Conference of Versailles. This provided Dr. Morehead and his colleagues a splendid opportunity to speak with officials from almost every country in Europe where there were Lutheran churches, and to gather general information about the religious and physical conditions in those countries. Through a written account of the Church in Poland in a French periodical, Dr. Morehead became acquainted with the author, Dr. Julius Bursche, superintendent of the Polish Lutheran Church, who was a member of the Polish delegation at Versailles. Dr. Bursche presented Dr. Morehead to the Polish Premier, the great pianist Ignace

Paderewski, who immediately invited all three American commissioners to visit Poland. On the basis of this official invitation, American Embassy officials amended their passports, and in less than two weeks Dr. Morehead and Professor Stolee were aboard the Premier's special train to Warsaw, by way of Switzerland. In order to cover as much ground as possible in their survey of European church conditions, Professor Youngert and Pastor Fandrey set out instead for Finland, by way of Sweden.

Their presence as relief commissioners on Paderewski's train was quite appropriate, for practically the entire cargo of baggage consisted of medical supplies, and many of the other passengers were doctors and nurses on missions of mercy at the Premier's request. After they had reached Warsaw and made their first surveys of the conditions there, the commissioners felt that their coming had been providentially directed. Indeed, during the next thirteen months the Church in Poland was to receive more financial aid from the American commissioners than any other church in Europe. Conditions were critical. The country had been devastated by three armies. More than 100,000 Lutheran men, and subsequently their wives and children, had been exiled to Russia by the Russian army in 1915. Some had returned to destroyed homes and farms, and some had not returned at all. Disease was rampant, malnutrition prevalent.

When the commissioners assembled at Copenhagen in the middle of August, 1919, Morehead recommended that \$100,000 be sent immediately to Poland, to fulfill a specified list of needs. Heading the list was the urgent plea for 5,000 Bibles and 50,000 New Testaments in Polish, but also dollars to rebuild 205 ruined or damaged church properties.

Moved by Morehead's stirring appeals, the newly-organized Lutheran Bureau in New York, under the able direction of Dr. O. H. Pannkoke, launched a full-scale Polish Relief Drive, establishing an organizational and promotional pattern that was to become standard for years ahead. Every congregation was encouraged to

participate, with its own men's and women's groups leading the way. State chairmen were appointed, central relief committees operated in every Lutheran center, the secular press and the church press were enlisted, speakers were scheduled, and thousands of pieces of printed literature were distributed. Important as it was that more than one million pounds of clothing were gathered for Poland and another 500,000 for other European countries, and that funds were raised to ship these goods to needy people, it was even more important that the lines were being laid for a mighty program of continuing support of world-wide inter-church aid. Dr. Pannkoke observed with prophetic insight, "Indications are that the Lutheran Church of America will be called upon to do relief work for some time." To this end, he urged the National Lutheran Council to establish its promotional agency permanently and to declare itself ready to "bring relief to Lutherans in need wherever its officials uncover such need."

Present at the Copenhagen meeting were also Dr. G. T. Rygh and Reverend H. J. Schuh, whose departure from New York had been delayed until July 25. From Copenhagen the commissioners spread out further over eastern Europe—Youngert and Rygh visiting Finland and the Baltic States, while Schuh, Fandrey, and Morehead moved into Hungary, Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and Germany. In all these areas they found great needs, and recommended specific projects to the National Lutheran Council for action. Subsequent general meetings were held in Leipzig in September and in Berlin in October, before the entire Commission was summoned back to New York to report to the National Lutheran Council in December.

REPORT FROM EUROPE

On December 18, 1919, Dr. Morehead and his colleagues met with the National Lutheran Council. "Perhaps for the first time in the history of the Christian Church," the Council was told, "immediately at the close of a war of five years duration, a large

aggregation of Christian people in one nation made bold to go on a mission of mercy and Christian helpfulness to those of the same faith in many nations, whether allies or enemies." It had not been an easy task, Dr. Morehead reported, even to secure access to these countries in the midst of military travel restrictions, but no avenue had been left unexplored, and the survey had been about two-thirds completed. Only Rumania, Russia, and the Ukraine remained. Not only were the physical problems severe, but national sensitivities made the visit of a relief representative from a victor nation somewhat delicate. To one belligerent challenge to argument on such a theme, Dr. Morehead tactfully demurred, pointing out that only in common repentance before God could real unity be fostered, and he himself stood ready to acknowledge his own guilty involvement in the tragedy of war and its aftermath. The Commission found more serious than the poverty and famine and loss of life the spiritual depression and laxity of the great masses of people in Europe.

Still another great problem of the church in Germany was that of the orphaned missions, which had been cut off from their home societies and from the sources of financial support. To the rescue of these missions Morehead summoned the National Lutheran Council in an action which was to presage a long history of continued assistance, even to the present time. The entire Commission brought a recommendation that the National Lutheran Council raise a sum of \$5,000,000 in three annual installments. Of the first \$1,800,000 to be gathered immediately, \$300,000 was to go to German missions.

Of far greater importance for the long-range development of world Lutheranism, however, was another recommendation which the Commission had agreed upon in its Berlin meeting in October and which was now presented to the Council. Unanimously, these five envoys to Europe urged the National Lutheran Council to consider steps leading to the formation of a Lutheran World Federation. Although after discussion the word "federation" was altered to "conference" and the question was referred to a subcommittee for study, this was the first formal suggestion of an organization

bearing the name of the present family of world Lutheranism. The fact that the suggestion was made in direct connection with, and through the direct stimulus of, a mission of mercy to the Lutheran churches of Europe following the end of the war, tied up inextricably the idea of a federation with the "Gospel of the Inasmuch." The tragic physical and spiritual ruins of two wars stimulated a wave of Christian compassion which not only fed, clothed, and sheltered persons in need, but also drew the Lutheran churches of the world together toward a permanent program of mutual aid, understanding and cooperation.

AID FOR THE CHURCH'S EASTERN FRONT

Meanwhile, the National Lutheran Council accepted the commissioners' recommendations for a \$5,000,000 campaign and moved to lay plans for an immediate appeal for \$1,800,000. Dr. Walton H. Greever was elected campaign chairman, assisted by Dr. Pannkoke and Dr. Lynn Kieffer of the Lutheran Bureau. The Council also asked Dr. Morehead to accept the office of permanent chairman of the European Commission. Although this was not an easy decision for him, involving as it did the necessity of his resignation as president of Roanoke College, this pioneer in interchurch aid accepted the great challenge, and in less than a month was again on the high seas, hurrying to Danzig in order to supervise the distribution of clothing for Poland. Already an elaborate plan had been set up in cooperation with Superintendent Bursche, with pastors and laymen in charge of various distribution districts throughout Poland. But there were transportation problems, and both stringent weather and passport difficulties hindered the many visits which had to be made to facilitate the distribution.

Throughout the first half of 1920, Morehead worked incessantly, not only in supervising food and clothing distribution, but in establishing loan funds to enable farmers returning from exile in Russia to purchase seed or livestock and thus to help themselves.

During 1920 more than \$150,000 was made available through parish loan associations or through banks, and 10,000 Lutheran families in 500 villages in Poland were aided in rebuilding their homes and their farms. During the course of 1920, a total of \$800,000 was distributed in 15 European countries. Morehead was always careful in utilizing the existing ecclesiastical channels, though in some instances it was necessary for the churches to organize special committees to work out specific plans for the use of money and supplies after the first emergency grants had been given. This was true in Hungary, where a committee of laymen and pastors developed a long-range plan for distribution and received grants on the basis of their requests. In Germany, which was in the throes of a separation between church and state, the channels of the Inner Mission were used, and three grants totaling \$204,848 were made during the year 1920. Since there was little actual war damage in Germany, these grants were for the strengthening of the church's own program of spiritual and material aid through the Inner Mission and its institutions.

On the eastern front, from Finland south to the Ukraine, the Lutheran church had suffered more than anywhere else in Europe. Not only had there been destruction of churches, institutions, and homes—not only the decimation of human resources—but the political and governmental structures of every one of these Eastern countries had been convulsed, and in many cases simply wiped out. The old empires of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Russia had been broken up, and new nations had arisen. Finland, Poland, the Baltic states of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, Czecho-Slovakia, and Yugoslavia, each with a considerable Lutheran population, had been created, and the churches in these countries had to be reorganized in the midst of a ruined economy and, in many cases, in the midst of a radical revolutionary political atmosphere. These churches, wrote Morehead, needed help in the support of Christian education, the practical training of pastors, the maintenance of the church press, and the encouragement of the “new cause of

evangelization." "The future of the Evangelical Lutheran Church as a world power for the advancement of the Kingdom of God and the service of Christ is at stake." He wondered what the response of the Lutheran churches of America would be in terms of financial support.

THOUGHTS ON LUTHERAN UNITY

Back in New York in December, 1920, it became apparent at the annual meeting of the National Lutheran Council that the impulse to Lutheran aid for Europe was making constantly stronger the desire for closer permanent relations within world Lutheranism. Dr. Lauritz Larsen concluded his report as Executive Director of the Council with an eloquent plea. The value of the work done by the commissioners in Europe cannot be measured in dollars, he said. A spiritual service has been rendered the church. The faith of the faithful has been strengthened. The personal relations established with so many Lutherans "has necessarily awakened and developed in our minds the thought of world Lutheranism and the earnest desire for the establishment of closer relationships between the various branches of our church." Dr. Larsen regretted that the largest Protestant church in the world had not exerted its proportionate influence in the world, and urged that in the presence of so many other denominational witnesses on a world scale, the Lutheran church ought to lead the way. He disclaimed any ulterior motives in the American Lutheran effort to aid in Europe. Only the ideal of service and of love for Christ and the brethren had motivated it, and God had blessed the work.

Europe, too, he asserted, was hungry for this closer contact. Not only our physical aid was desired there. The entire Commission, said Larsen, believes that "we cannot stop now. We cannot fail those who are hungering for closer contact, for more intimate relationships." "A fuller national Lutheran consciousness has grown out of this work, and with it a new Lutheran world consciousness."

Larsen's plea found a sympathetic ear in the Council. The sugges-

tion of the previous year was presented for action, approved, and a committee was appointed to begin arrangements for an international Lutheran convention to be held in August, 1922. Dr. C. M. Jacobs was made chairman of this committee. The purpose of this convention was to promote clearer understanding among groups represented, with a view to strengthening present cooperation among Lutherans throughout the world. It was suggested that a proper meeting place would be in The Hague in the Netherlands, a neutral country. The call for the meeting was to be issued jointly by the National Lutheran Council in the United States and by two German cooperative organizations, the Luther Bund and the Allgemeine Lutherische Konferenz. This latter organization had been in operation since 1867, and had expanded its activities from Germany to Scandinavia and elsewhere, even to the Lutheran General Council in America. A meeting in Uppsala in 1911 had given great promise of further cooperation among world Lutherans, and plans were even made at that time for a meeting of the Conference in America, but the war had intervened.

Dr. Morehead was instructed by the Council to approach these two German Lutheran groups. Both of them expressed their interest, and the larger Allgemeine Konferenz agreed to sign the invitation with the National Lutheran Council and to name members to a Joint Committee on Arrangements.

Meanwhile the ministry of mercy continued. As Morehead returned again to Europe, the National Lutheran Council moved into the second phase of its Lutheran World Service ingathering. \$1,460,000 of the \$1,800,000 goal for 1920 had been received from Lutheran congregations in all synods in America, and 1,500,000 pounds of clothing had been received at the New York warehouses. The prospect that it would soon be possible to send aid to the stricken Lutheran church of Russia became the basis of the new appeal for \$1,250,000 during 1921, but in this year the response was measurably less enthusiastic, yielding only \$535,000 and 93,000 pounds of clothing.

Because of the lagging enthusiasm for European relief in Amer-

ica, Dr. Morehead was recalled from Europe in July, 1921, and for two months he traveled from city to city, sometimes speaking three times in a single day.

RELIEF FOR RUSSIA

Weighing very heavily on Dr. Morehead's mind was that portion of the European survey which his Commission had never been able to complete, namely, Russia. During 1921 reports came to his attention concerning refugees from Russia who had found their way to Constantinople. Remnants of Wrangel's army, among whom were many Lutherans, were still in the camps at Gallipoli. To help these stranded people, including many former Russian army officers, a travel fund of \$8000 was set up, and resettlement opportunities were sought out for as many as possible. One Russian army doctor was resettled in a Yugoslavian town of five thousand, which had no doctor at all.

Although the revolutionary conditions within Russia had prevented any direct visitation or aid up to this time, it was known that a very extensive Lutheran church had existed in imperial Russia. Great parts of this church had been located in the western portions of the empire, which had been incorporated within Poland and the Baltic states, but there were still more than 1,500,000 Lutherans within Russia in 1921. Their leading clergyman was Superintendent Theophilus Meyer, pastor of the Lutheran Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Moscow, and the church had been strong enough in 1917 to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the Reformation by publishing a handsome illustrated volume entitled *Luther's Inheritance in Russia*. There were also Lutheran congregations in the Lake Baikal area in the Far East, and several congregations in the Republics of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia, in the Caucasus. But the most pressing area of need was in the valley of the Volga, where great colonies of German settlers had located at the invitation of Catherine II.

The outbreak of a serious epidemic of disease, together with

famine conditions in this area, first moved the Soviet Government to relax its prohibitions against organized foreign aid and to invite the American Relief Administration to come to Moscow to help stem the crisis. As a representative of the National Lutheran Council Dr. Morehead traveled aboard a special train bringing relief representatives from Riga, Latvia, to the Russian capital in December, 1921. As they crossed the seemingly endless wastes of drifted snow on the way to Moscow, and watched the frigid sun traversing its meager arc above the horizon before it descended again into the wintry night, Dr. Morehead wondered how the people on the Volga were surviving. Before leaving Riga, he had already put forty-three bales of clothing on a train bound for the stricken area. At one station he counted twenty-one freightcars loaded with food and marked "American Relief Administration." Sixty thousand children were being fed a meal a day by the same organization in different parts of Russia, and Morehead was grateful that the National Lutheran Council had authorization to purchase food from newly-established warehouses for the program of relief it proposed to carry on in the Volga region.

After clearances in Moscow had been accomplished, Morehead traveled to the valley of the Volga to begin his mission of mercy on behalf of the American Lutherans. Here, in sixteen-degrees-below-zero weather, Morehead visited the great refugee barracks, whither starving people had come to receive rations. Typhus had broken out, and people were dying by the hundreds. In the Lutheran village of Krasni-jar Morehead visited a home where he found the father had been gone for three days in Saranov, looking for work. The mother rose to receive the guests, but sank back into a chair from sheer weakness. One of the three children lay dead upon a cot, and another was prostrated with fever.

With the \$10,000 per month which the National Lutheran Council appropriated, 15,000 children could be fed in an organized program, and in addition \$20,000 for food was provided for needy families. Likewise, further south, in Odessa and Kharkov, pastors and people were given food packages and clothing from American Lutherans.

Not until he himself collapsed physically under the severe strain did Dr. Morehead turn back from his task of mercy in Russia. When he visited the weary ambassador in a Baden-Baden hospital in August, 1921, Dr. Lauritz Larsen, president of the National Lutheran Council, found him cheerful and hopeful but "indescribably tired and exceedingly nervous." Yet two months later the indomitable Morehead was back in America, laying the cause of his suffering fellow Lutherans before the convention of the United Lutheran Church of America in an address on "The Lutheran Church in the Present Crisis."

Dr. Larsen stayed in Europe while Dr. Morehead was on furlough in the United States. With youthful vigor he plunged into the task of visitation and supervision in Russia and other eastern European countries, consulting with committees and listening to new appeals. Returning home on December 9, 1922, he launched out on a speaking tour to rekindle the zeal for giving, which had noticeably cooled in American congregations. On January 18, 1923, he appeared before the National Lutheran Council in Cleveland and presented a brilliant account of his work in Russia. Questioned by members of the Council concerning the personal risks involved, Dr. Larsen replied, "I want to say that I have never been so gripped by anything as by this, and I expect it will follow me all my life, and I am ready to give my life for it if it requires. . . . Any man going into Russia on relief work must be willing to sacrifice his life for that work or he has no right to go there."

Ten days later Dr. Lauritz Larsen was called upon for this very sacrifice. Exhausted from his heavy exertions in Europe and suffering from an infection which he had picked up in Russia, he was forced to enter a hospital in Erie, Pennsylvania, and there died of pneumonia on January 28, 1923, at the age of forty. A martyr to the cause of interchurch aid, and one of the driving forces behind the movement toward American and world Lutheran unity, Dr. Lauritz Larsen, despite his brief career, deserves one of the honored positions in Lutheran church history in the twentieth century.

The access to Russia achieved by Dr. Morehead also provided a channel for aid from European Lutherans to their needy brethren in Russia. His approaches to the Allgemeine Lutherische Konferenz regarding an international Lutheran convention had aroused confidence in him and a sense of common purpose which moved this German Lutheran group to transmit the sum of 700,000 German marks through him for Russian relief. The Evangelicals of Spain gave \$1,000 for the same purpose. Polish Lutherans, remembering the help that had come to them, gathered 7,000,000 Polish marks. The German Evangelical Lutheran Church in Latvia gave 36,000 lats; the Lutheran Society of Alsace in France gave 14,000 francs, and the Paris Synod 2,000 francs. Not only was this the manifestation of beautiful Christian love, Morehead exulted, but these gifts "illustrate the growing consciousness of unity that exists as the result of the extending acquaintance among Lutheran groups."

In this first postwar period there were many other examples of Lutheran church relief. Sweden sent material and financial help to German pastors. The "Laymen's Help" in Denmark was sent to Lutherans in many different countries. Splendid aid was given by all the Scandinavian countries to the undernourished children in Austria and in Germany. Independent synods in North and South America and in Australia assisted in various ways, but the diversity of these actions makes it impossible to give more definite information about them.

With the death of Dr. Lauritz Larsen in January, 1923, the National Lutheran Council asked Dr. Morehead to assume the office of Executive Director of the Council in addition to his duties as European Commissioner. Although the work of relief was still far from completed, and Dr. Morehead was to set out again almost immediately for Europe for a short period, his election to a joint position indicates that the main American Lutheran postwar effort was coming to an end. Contributions had been declining. The country was experiencing an economic depression. Within the

Council itself voices were being raised, expressing the fear that if other areas of service within the United States were not found, the Council would break up for lack of a unifying cause when the needs of Europe could no longer find a sustained response.*

WORLD LUTHERANISM AT EISENACH

Fortunately, however, the impulse which had originated with the European Commission had already issued in the formal call for the first Lutheran World Convention, to be held at Eisenach, Germany, beginning August 20, 1923. Part of the purpose of Dr. Morehead's visit to Europe in March was to consult with European churchmen on the final plans for this meeting. Thus the ending of this period of general emergency relief in Europe coincided with the beginning of a new era of world Lutheran cooperation.

During the spring and early summer months of 1923 one church after another in all parts of the world responded to the call, and when the 147 delegates and visitors assembled in Eisenach in the dignified old Church of St. George on Sunday, August 19, twenty-two countries were represented. President H. G. Stub of the United Norwegian Lutheran Church in America preached the opening sermon, and the following day the Convention was formally welcomed by Bishop Ludwig Ihmels of Saxony, who expressed grateful thanks to God that in spite of the divisions and strifes of nations, it was possible for fellow-Christians from all over the world to gather in a common bond of faith and in the spirit of unity. Out of the richness of his ecumenical experience, Archbishop Nathan Söderblom, primate of the Church of Sweden, thanked God for his Lutheran heritage, but reminded his colleagues in the faith of

*From February 16, 1919, to August 31, 1925, the National Lutheran Council gathered and distributed cash and goods for European relief in the amount of \$6,731,892.09. Of this amount, \$2,701,373.13 represented cash contributions. The value of the relief goods was \$3,825,780 (3,060,544 lbs. at \$1.25 per pound), and \$204,738.96 was raised to cover the cost of shipping these goods. In addition, \$536,351.59 was contributed for aid to foreign mission fields orphaned during the war. Osborne Hauge, *Lutherans Working Together* (New York: National Lutheran Council, 1945), page 48.

Luther's warning that "proud spirited saints do more harm than any other people on earth."

In the various expressions of Eisenach, however, there seemed little danger that world Lutheranism, returning for the first time as a family after 400 years to one of its most revered shrines, would indulge in unseemly self-glorification. Rather, the prevalent mood was that of thankfulness and of determination that those who had found their way together at last should now go forward in common service to God. More than at any other point this unity of endeavor had been concretely expressed in the help which had been channeled to the suffering brethren in Russia during the famine years of 1921-23 by Lutheran churches both in Europe and America. Superintendent Theophilus Meyer of Moscow, referring to the Eisenach meeting as "an hour of unparalleled significance in the history of the church," gave eloquent thanks for this aid to his people, and rejoiced "that brotherly love has not grown cold in the Lutheran Church."

This was essentially the theme developed by Dr. Morehead in the address he delivered to the Convention. Following the examples and the exhortations of the New Testament to mutual assistance among Christians, Dr. Morehead suggested as the key to future endeavors the theme, "We want to help one another." What he believed to be involved in this many-sided mutual assistance Dr. Morehead set forth in seven concrete suggestions at the close of his address. It was clear that his thinking had been in great measure determined by his experiences of the past four years, during which he had often pointed out the need for some central coordinating agency for emergency relief, for church reconstruction, for the furtherance of common efforts in foreign missions, for the spiritual care of immigrants, and for the exchange of persons and information. Basic to all of this, of course, would be a common confession expressing unity in faith, but Morehead moved on quickly to stress his program of "practical helpfulness."

Quite another viewpoint on the purposes of the Lutheran World

Convention was expressed by the Swedish Archbishop Söderblom. "We have not come together to organize ourselves, but to edify one another and to strengthen one another in our common faith. Within Christianity as a whole, it is our special mission as Lutherans to cultivate the strength of the inner life." The emphasis in the lectures and discussions of the Eisenach meeting—ranging from the ecumenical significance of the Lutheran church and the confessions as "the indispensable foundation of the Lutheran church" to the importance of unity, world missions, and the care of Lutheran minorities throughout the world—reflected a strong concern for the inner life of the Lutheran family of faith.

Before the Eisenach Convention adjourned, the delegates made provision for a continuing Executive Committee of six members to carry out its work and to prepare for the next meeting of the Convention. The naming of Dr. John A. Morehead as first chairman of this committee was a recognition of his leading role in the creation of the Lutheran World Convention. Other members were Bishop Ihmels of Saxony, Baron von Pechmann of Munich, Professor A. Theodore Jørgensen of Copenhagen, Bishop Lundgren of Sweden, and Dr. L. W. Boe of the United States. The tasks of the Executive Committee re-enunciated Dr. Morehead's platform of action: works of mercy, aid to foreign missions, and the care of migrating Lutherans. Other resolutions set forth the confessional basis of the Lutheran World Convention and emphasized the need of sound Christian education, expressed the gratitude of all who had been aided during the postwar years of suffering, and called upon the Lutheran churches of the world not to become weary in their well-doing.

As the 147 delegates left the Luther city of Eisenach, they could count as their main achievement the creation of a framework within which Lutherans of all the world might learn to know each other better. As John Morehead was to learn in the remaining years of his life, the first impulses to Lutheran world unity might be given through interchurch missions of mercy, but much more than this would have to take place before a common ground of fellowship and understanding could be fully reached. The fortress of the Wartburg

had, after all, witnessed the passage of four centuries between 1521 and 1923, and not all those who bore the name of Luther had been cast in the same mold.

MOREHEAD AND LUTHERAN WORLD SERVICE

Since the Eisenach convention had not established any general secretariat for carrying out the objectives it had outlined, Dr. Morehead's office as Executive Secretary of the National Lutheran Council in New York was called upon to render such services as might be necessary. Needless to say, Morehead himself felt a deep sense of urgency for the continued growth of the movement he had helped begin. Not least was this true because of the persistence of need and of weakness in many areas of the Lutheran church in Europe and on the mission fields. The first message which Morehead transmitted to New York while on his way to Eisenach as a delegate to the Convention was a cable from Berlin dated August 14: "Rush all available clothing Germany. Collapse of mark means starvation at the doors of one thousand parsonages. Urge congregations to give at once."

During the winter of 1923-24 there were 5,250,000 unemployed in Germany, and about one-third of the total population suffered from undernourishment. To relieve this need, the National Lutheran Council drew upon its accumulated resources to send \$100,000 in cash and \$73,600 in food to Germany as a Christmas gift in 1923. This was used largely for the support of the Inner Mission's widespread "church free table" system, through which the unemployed and needy were fed in the institutions of the church. Another \$253,000 followed in 1924, though the situation had now begun to improve and unemployment had dropped to one million.

This was the final sizable American gift to European relief after World War I. From this time on the Lutheran World Service appeals of the National Lutheran Council maintained a very modest level, and were geared in with the over-all annual program worked out by the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Conven-

tion under Dr. Morehead's guidance. Part of this decline in American giving was doubtless due to the ending of the postwar emergency in Europe, but also in part to the economic recession and the growing American isolationism of the middle twenties.

At its annual meeting in Budapest in 1927 the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention set up a program of Lutheran World Service in the amount of \$60,000, of which \$25,000 was earmarked for Russia. Of the total amount, the Committee expected to receive \$15,000 from the Lutheran churches of Europe and the rest from the United States. The report that Lutheran churches in fourteen countries were sharing in Russian interchurch aid and relief elicited a warm expression of gratitude from the National Lutheran Council that the Lutheran World Convention was making real progress in "quickening the sense of responsibility among Lutherans everywhere for the relief of their needy brethren."

Although the primary concern of Lutheran World Service continued to be Russian relief, orphaned German foreign missions, sponsored by the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference, also became a major annual item on its list of needs. Between 1920 and 1927 more than \$600,000 was given to the Berlin Mission, the Breklum China Mission, the Finnish China Mission, the Gossner Mission in India, and the Hermannsburg South Africa Mission. In the wake of the internal political convulsions in Russia and the famine of 1921-23, the Evangelical Lutheran General Synod of Russia had reorganized, and even established a theological seminary at Leningrad in September, 1925. Provision of an annual subsidy for this struggling church and for its seminary was one of Morehead's most urgent desires, and for more than six years the contributions of the Lutheran World Convention kept the Leningrad Seminary in operation, until the Soviet Government finally closed its doors.

FROM COPENHAGEN TO PARIS

The most acute postwar needs of the Lutheran churches of Europe had receded into the background as the second Lutheran

Polish Premier Ignace Jan Paderewski with American commissioner Prof. M. J. Stolee, about to board the Premier's special relief train to Poland in 1919.



American relief representatives, Prof. M. J. Stolee, Dr. Lauritz Larsen, and Dr. John A. Morehead, in Berlin during first survey of needs in 1920.





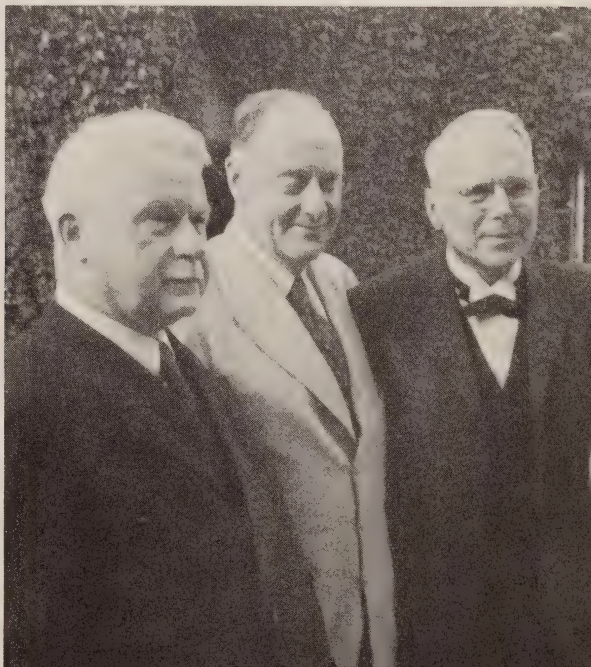
Second Lutheran World Convention in session at Copenhagen, Denmark, 1929.

Members of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention, at Gothenburg, Sweden, in 1926. Front row, left to right: Baron von Pechmann, Dr. John A. Morehead, Bishop Ludwig Ihmels; back row, left to right: Dr. A. Theodore Jørgensen, Dr. Pehr Pehrsson, Dr. L. W. Boe.





Forerunner to the Lutheran World Federation was the Lutheran World Convention, shown outside the historic Wartburg Castle in Eisenach, Germany, where the organization meeting was held in 1923.



Bishop Anders Nygren of Lund, Sweden, first President of the Lutheran World Federation (center), with Bishop Hans Meiser of Munich (left), and Prof. Ernst Sommerlath of Leipzig, Germany (right), members of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, at Tutzing, Germany, in 1950.



Dr. and Mrs. S. C.
Michelfelder on board ship
leaving New York for Europe.



Bishop Hanns Lilje, President of
the Lutheran World Federation,
together with Mrs. Lilje, in their
home in Hannover.

World Convention began its sessions in the thriving city of Copenhagen, Denmark, on the morning of June 21, 1929. A royal procession, headed by the Bishop of Copenhagen and His Majesty King Christian X, led the 180 delegates and 800 visitors into the Cathedral where the Bishop delivered the opening sermon. During the succeeding ten days of the Convention, presided over by Dr. Morehead, no new direction markers were erected, but the principles of unity enunciated at Eisenach were reaffirmed. Needy churches, "regardless of race, language, or political alignment," should receive further assistance, and the member churches were summoned to more intensive activity in the solution of the social problems of the day.

Although Dr. Morehead felt that the Copenhagen resolutions on continued cooperation for the relief and strengthening of endangered Lutheran churches were adopted with heartfelt enthusiasm, he had to admit to the National Lutheran Council that the appeal of mere physical relief, growing out of the distress following the first World War, had "ceased to grip the people." But "fruitful Christian work always appeals," he declared, and went on to stress the new opportunities and responsibilities which were opening to the Lutheran World Convention "for Christian work along the lines of true inner missions for saving and strengthening the Lutheran Church as a whole throughout the entire world."

To this end Morehead believed that the Lutheran World Convention should be on the budget of every Lutheran church in the world. Copenhagen, however, made it clear that the European Lutherans were not yet ready for a fixed organization, and Morehead turned to the National Lutheran Council with the question: "Is American Lutheranism willing, in a quiet, self-effacing, and self-forgetful way, but with increasing vigor, to fill the gap effectively for the nurture and development of the Lutheran World Convention movement during the next six years?"

The Americans expressed their willingness. Morehead resigned as Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council and prepared to devote his full time to realizing his dream of a vigorous and organized world Lutheranism. Other members of the Conven-

tion continued to support the assistance program of Lutheran World Service, but the National Lutheran Council paid in addition the salary and New York office expenses for the president of the Lutheran World Convention's executive committee.

Beginning in 1929 with the ascendancy of left-wing Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the church in Russia became increasingly subject to open persecution through the agency of the party-approved Society of the Godless. The membership of this organization in Russia grew from 465,498 in 1929 to 5,500,000 at the end of 1931, and extended its influence through every conceivable channel of Russian life. To strengthen the church in the face of this frontal attack, Lutheran World Service designated \$38,645 of the \$53,626 it received in 1930 from the participating Lutheran churches in Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, Denmark, Germany, Norway, Poland, the United States, and Sweden.

In 1931 the dramatic plight of more than four hundred Russian Lutherans stimulated their brethren of the Lutheran World Convention to a special effort. Under the grim pressure of persecution thousands of people were either exiled to labor camps in Siberia, or managed to make a timely escape across the borders into Europe. One group, who had been dispossessed of their farms in the Volga district and sent to Siberian camps, managed to make their way across the border into Manchuria. In the city of Harbin they found refuge, but no employment. Through a German Lutheran pastor there, their plight was brought to the attention of the Lutheran World Convention and relief was provided. However, in 1931, after two years in Harbin, the refugees were notified by the Manchurian government that they must leave the country. After extensive investigation of resettlement possibilities in Canada, Australia, and Paraguay, Dr. Morehead was able to make arrangements for these people to enter Brazil. With the assistance of the Nansen Office for Refugees, connected with the League of Nations, and with the gifts of Lutherans throughout the world, the Harbin refugees were transported to their new homes and provided with farm equipment, a pair of oxen, a cow, and food enough for one year. The entire operation cost \$58,000, and gifts were received from Lutherans in

thirteen different countries, including such smaller churches as those in Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czecho-Slovakia, France, and China.

The years between Copenhagen and the Third Assembly at Paris were years of general economic depression throughout the world, and the struggling Lutheran World Convention also felt its effects. Financially, the lowest ebb was reached in 1933, when a total contribution of about two thousand dollars for Lutheran World Service was gathered by the American Section. Nevertheless, one hundred church leaders from twenty-two countries convened on October 13, 1935, in the Lutheran Church of St. Jean on the left bank of the Seine in Paris, in what they styled "the Little World Assembly." After the opening services, at which Inspector Henri Boury preached the sermon, the Convention settled down to its projected task as a working assembly, noting as it did so the tragic absence of any delegate from the Lutheran church of Russia. The grim shadow of an iron curtain had already fallen across the path of world Lutheranism.

That its delegates felt the weight of the spiritual, economic, and political crisis in the midst of which they were meeting was made clear in their serious statement of basic purpose. The Lutheran World Convention should "bring the Lutheran churches and organizations of the world into an enduring and intimate relationship with one another in order to promote oneness of faith and confession, and to ward off antagonistic and hostile influences." The importance of a more permanent organization was also recognized by providing for the appointment of an Executive Secretary. The six-member Executive Committee was to meet annually, and the Convention itself was to hold plenary sessions every five years. Bishop August Marahrens of Hannover was elected President of the Executive Committee, and Dr. Morehead, retiring from active service, was named Honorary President of the Lutheran World Convention.

UNFULFILLED HOPES

A year later, when the Executive Committee met in New York, Dr. John Morehead was dead. At a memorial service arranged by

the committee in Holy Trinity Lutheran Church, President Lars W. Boe of St. Olaf College delivered a tribute to him who "became the ear that heard the cry of those in distress and the hand stretched forth to help," the man in whose heart and mind "the agony and suffering and sorrow of wartime were transmuted into world vision and world service."

"It was Dr. Morehead's hope and prayer that the Lutherans might be so organized that the strength of the Church could easily and quickly be swung to the weaker portions so that the church as a whole would not be hindered in its main work of witnessing. In the organization of the Lutheran World movement, relief of suffering was ultimately to be an incidental part of the program, its purpose to make evident to the Lutherans themselves and to the world the solidarity and unity of the Church to which a large opportunity had come and upon which a large responsibility had been laid."

Dr. Boe also had an admonishing word for the future. "To those who come after Dr. Morehead in the Lutheran World movement there comes the difficult task of shifting the weight of its work from relief to more positive forms, to establish as a permanent movement that which came as a fleeting impulse from the sorrows and troubles of wartime."

Present at that service was a young German pastor, about to be named Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Convention, who would have much to do in later years with the fulfilling of the hopes and expectations of both Dr. Morehead and Dr. Boe. This man was Dr. Hanns Lilje of Berlin, then General Secretary of the Student Christian Movement in Germany, and later to become Bishop of the Church of Hannover and President of the Lutheran World Federation.

Much was to intervene before these fulfillments could take place. An age was to die and be buried with millions of its sons and daughters in the rubble of a thousand shattered cities. A juggernaut of totalitarian statism was to ride roughshod over civil rights and national integrity, until the nations still intact were either forced or frightened into joint resistance. A wave of inhumanity

and bestiality was to sweep over every continent on earth with a searing breath that would shrivel and scorch human values as it did human bodies. And after it was past, a new age was to be born beneath a billowing, rose-red mushroom canopy. In many ways the birth of this new age would be more terrible than the death of the old. For the fear of God and the love of men had not been nourished in the cataclysm of war, either among victors or vanquished. Unless these guiding values could be restored, the new age could only be an age of greater fear and greater wrong and even more disastrous ruin.

All this would intervene. Already the Japanese conquest of Manchuria, the bombing of Shanghai, and the rape of Ethiopia had served grim warning. The budget of the Lutheran World Convention for 1938 included an item of \$4000 to assist the migration of non-Aryan Christian refugees from Germany, and a \$15,000 item for the support of German foreign missions whose support was cut off by the economic policies of the National Socialist government in Germany. Within a year the tanks and troops of the German army would have poured across the borders of Poland, and World War II would have begun. And beneath its rubble the hard-won achievements of twenty years of inter-Lutheran cooperation would be buried. A Lutheran World Convention in 1940 in Philadelphia, "the city of brotherly love," would have been impossible. Yet in that year, not far from this city in which Lutherans from all the world should have assembled to witness of their unity in faith and love, the National Lutheran Council was to adopt a resolution paving the way for a new ministry of mercy for emergencies which might arise through the war. "Christians of the world cannot separate themselves from the problems of the world," they said. "Above all, it is their responsibility to help lighten the world's tragic burden." Relief of suffering in the name of Christ was not to be, as Dr. John Morehead had thought, an "incidental" part of the program of Lutheran world cooperation. It had become instead a foundation stone, and now would be added another, equally rough, but equally substantial, and upon these an even firmer structure of Lutheran unity would eventually be built.

A Man Sent From God

When Dr. Sylvester Clarence Michelfelder boarded the troopship *Mariposa* at Boston on July 3, 1945, bound for LeHavre in France, he was very nearly re-enacting a chapter of Lutheran church history written twenty-seven years earlier. Just as Dr. John A. Morehead and his colleagues had boarded the *Lorraine* at New York on June 5, 1919, bearing the instructions of the Lutheran churches of America to investigate the postwar needs of their sister churches in Europe with a view to offering physical and spiritual assistance, so now Dr. Michelfelder set forth as the eyes and ears of American Lutheranism. That such a mission of investigation was once more necessary was a tragic commentary upon the complete severance of inter-Lutheran ties caused by the frightful war which less than two months earlier had ground to its bitter end in Europe. Contacts with German Lutheran leaders were nonexistent. Brief conversations with Scandinavian church leaders earlier in the spring of 1945 had revealed little enthusiasm over any efforts to revive the virtually defunct Lutheran World Convention. Dr. Michelfelder, therefore, had to begin his task under much the same circumstances as had Dr. Morehead.

There was, however, one great difference. Out of the ecumenical conferences on Faith and Order and Life and Work, held at Ox-

ford and Edinburgh in 1937, had come the decision to form a World Council of Churches. At Utrecht in 1938 a Provisional Committee had been set up to make the necessary preparations for organization. The committee, with Dr. W. A. Visser t'Hooft as General Secretary, had established itself in Geneva, Switzerland, and maintained a modest staff throughout the war, concerning itself largely with a study program. This emphasis was felt by Dr. Visser t'Hooft to be of primary importance, but in 1944, under the impact of the wartime distress of the churches, he called Dr. J. Hutchinson Cockburn from Scotland to become head of a new Department of Church Reconstruction. In the spring of 1945, after they had made a visit in Sweden, Dr. Ralph Long and Dr. P. O. Bersell of the National Lutheran Council and Dr. Lawrence Meyer of the Missouri Synod met with the World Council staff in Geneva and reached an agreement that all Lutheran reconstruction, interchurch aid, and relief for the stricken churches of Europe should be coordinated with the new department. To facilitate this coordination, it was agreed that a Lutheran representative should be invited to establish an office in Geneva.

When Dr. Long returned from Europe in the spring of 1945, he lost no time in approaching the man he thought ideally suited for the position, namely, his lifelong friend, Dr. S. C. Michelfelder, pastor of St. Paul's Lutheran Church in Toledo, Ohio. "You must go to Geneva," Dr. Long told him. Shortly thereafter, the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention extended the official invitation, and on the basis of a one-year's leave of absence from his congregation, Dr. Michelfelder accepted the appointment as Special Commissioner to Europe for the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention. He was instructed to study the needs of the churches of Europe and to find a way of coordinating relief and interchurch aid through the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches in Geneva, Switzerland. Thus, when Dr. Michelfelder boarded the *Mariposa* on July 3, he at least had a destination and an office, although the outlines of his work were far from clear.

On board the ship, which had just brought 6300 veterans of

European combat back to their home shores, were Dr. Stewart Herman, also on his way to Geneva to join the staff of the World Council, a few diplomats who had attended the United Nations Conference in San Francisco, and several representatives of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Agency. This was the first sizable civilian group to sail for Europe after the termination of hostilities, and Dr. Michelfelder found it entirely appropriate that the church should be among the first to go on such a mission of mercy. After a seven-day voyage, the *Mariposa* literally "landed" its passengers at LeHavre. There were no docks. Prisoners of war loaded baggage onto landing barges, and the passengers stepped ashore on the beach, to be transported to the railway station by army trucks. "Chaos is the only way to describe it," wrote Michelfelder of the port city. "The populace looks dazed and forlorn." A jangling merry-go-round in a vacant lot seemed to him an inadequate means of cheering people whose homes had been blown to bits.

After an all-night ride on a crowded train, Michelfelder was met in Paris by Clayton Williams, the pastor of the American Church, and in his first few hours learned something of the needs of the French Lutherans in the midst of the general economic prostration of all of France. On July 17 he reached Geneva, where he was met by Dr. Cockburn and Dr. Visser t'Hooft, assigned his hotel, and equipped with enough ration tickets to last him six days.

The following day Dr. Michelfelder was assigned a desk in the World Council headquarters, and at the four o'clock informal tea in the garden, which has since become an ecumenical institution, met the staff members for the first time. The next few days were days of orientation, days which in retrospect must have seemed unbelievably quiet and placid. He had time to buy his own second-hand typewriter, to shop for office supplies, to attend evening concerts, and even to scale the hills surrounding Geneva and look down upon the flowing waters of its rivers and the shining surface of its idyllic Lac Lemman. One evening Mont Blanc was visible in

the clear sky, and Michelfelder was thrilled by its cameo-like face as the setting sun turned the ice and snow into "pastel shades of pink and gold."

BREAD FIRST—CATECHISMS LATER

The quiet interlude, however, was soon over. Staff discussions and reports began to sketch in the grim black lines of Europe's plight. Stewart Herman left immediately for Germany. Michelfelder tried also to enter and was rebuffed. While his application was being shunted from State Department to Army and back again, he canvassed every possible channel for information concerning the conditions of the churches and their people behind these formidable barriers of military security. On the first of August, at a special meeting of the Council, the German relief situation was discussed, and it was made clear that the most pressing immediate problem of the German people was not church reconstruction, but food and shelter and clothing in the face of oncoming winter.

This was a new idea for Michelfelder, who had come to Geneva as an envoy of interchurch aid, and not as a relief administrator. The presence on the *Mariposa* of UNRRA representatives was symbolic of the delegation of responsibility for feeding and clothing the millions of needy to the newly-created United Nations organization. Such a task, most people felt, would have been far too ambitious for the churches to undertake. But the United Nations mandate did not extend to the conquered peoples of Europe, and certainly not to Germany. Among the victorious Allies there was indeed very little thought given to the relief of suffering in Germany. Far more important in Allied policy at this time was the carrying out of the Morgenthau Plan for the reduction of Germany to the status of an agricultural nation, and the removal of all industrial war potential. In fact, during these months the nutrition standards in some Allied prisoner of war camps in France were kept at what appeared to be an intentional minimum.

Under these circumstances it was clear, as one observer put it, that the church could not minister to the greatest needs of starving people with cases full of catechisms, important as those would be later on. The first need would be physical relief.

Although Allied policy at this time was not concerned about assisting the Germans, there seems to have been official encouragement given to German efforts to help themselves. In June, 1945, American military units released Eugen Gerstenmaier from the prison in Bayreuth where he had been confined because of his identification with the unsuccessful assassination plot against Hitler on July 20, 1944. Even during his days of imprisonment in Berlin-Tegel this energetic layman, later to become President of the Lower House of the German Parliament, had been preparing plans for an all-German relief organization to minister to the needs of the German people after the collapse of the Nazi regime and the end of the war. After a few weeks of recuperation in a hospital in Bayreuth, Gerstenmaier was picked up by a Red Cross vehicle and, with the permission of the American military authorities, traveled to Geneva to discuss his plans for a German Hilfswerk with the staff of the World Council of Churches. With an initial gift of \$20,000 in hand as a token of the ecumenical support for his program of self-help, Gerstenmaier hurried back to Germany. Equipped with an American army jeep and a GI driver named Harry, Gerstenmaier now began his travels from one provincial church to the other, seeking dependable people to work with him and enlisting the support of the German Protestant churches for his staggering task.

REOPENING THE ROAD TO GERMANY

Meanwhile, the churches themselves were trying to pick up the pieces, both physically and spiritually, after the end of their destructive bout with National Socialism and war since 1933. Pastors of the Confessing Church, the resistance movement which had been outlawed by the Nazis, now emerged to take over the official positions in provincial churches, many of which had been

controlled by the so-called German Christians who had compromised themselves for the sake of political approval. Theophil Wurm, Lutheran Bishop of Württemberg, who had managed to preserve both his integrity and that of his church against Nazi assault, was recognized generally as the dean of the Evangelical Church leaders, though Martin Niemoeller, the fiery pastor of Berlin-Dahlem, was the organizer of the Pastors' Emergency League which led the ecclesiastical resistance movement against the Nazis. To replace the broken-down church organization which Hitler had imposed, Bishop Wurm now summoned all the provincial churches to send representatives to the little Hessian town of Treysa from August 27-September 1, 1945. At this historic meeting odious ties with the past were severed and there emerged the new Evangelical Church in Germany, a limited federation of all the independent provincial churches of Germany. A Council of Twelve stood at the head of this new organization, with Bishop Wurm as titular president.

In addition to the organizational decisions, two other important events took place at the Treysa Conference. The first was the acceptance of the plans of Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier for the setting up of the Hilfswerk of the Evangelical Church in Germany and the consequent launching of this great German self-help venture with ecclesiastical blessing. In each of the member churches of the new German federation, a corresponding Hilfswerk was organized, and the people of the congregations were mobilized to contribute food and clothing and money for the relief of the suffering brethren in their midst and elsewhere in Germany. The record of achievements in the midst of need and destruction is almost incredible, yet it was reported at the first general Hilfswerk meeting in Wiesbaden in January, 1946, that in five months 20,000,000 Reichmarks had been gathered for relief. One-third of this sum was designated for use in the Russian Zone, where homelessness and hunger were even more acute than in the West. In addition to the cash gifts, more than 18,000 tons of food and 500 tons of clothing were gathered before the end of January, 1946. In the ensuing weeks the amount of clothing rose to 1,600 tons,

and 100 refugee homes and reception camps were added to the prodigious number of church homes and institutions already open to the homeless, the sick, and the orphaned. By the end of February an additional 10,000,000 marks had been gathered, and 260,000 marks worth of medicines had been bought or given to the Protestant hospitals and homes by German sources.

These figures in no sense reflect a prosperous economy. They do represent the local response to physical need through a church-sponsored program. Since the Nazis had closely controlled every welfare appeal since 1933, this was the first opportunity the German church people had had in many years to give to a general relief effort sponsored by the church. They gave of the limited supplies they had, knowing full well that most of what they gave could not be replaced. In the coming months and years, most of these people who had given would find it necessary to receive gifts from fellow-Christians and friends in other lands. When that time should come, it would also be the Evangelical Hilfswerk which would be the distributor of such gifts from abroad. The presence from the earliest postwar days of this well-organized and effective distribution system of the church has been one of the most significant factors in both the volume and the duration of the program of material assistance to Germany.

The second matter of importance was the receipt of a letter by Bishop Wurm, written on behalf of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention by Dr. S. C. Michelfelder in Geneva. Wurm had invited Michelfelder to be present at Treysa, but military clearances had not been secured in time. Hence, this letter represents the first official contact of the Lutheran World Convention with the German churches after the war. It began, significantly, with an apostolic greeting: "Grace and Peace in Christ Jesus Our Lord," and the salutation, "Dear Brethren."

Your Lutheran brethren in America realize how the devastations and horrors of war have come to you. We are aware that the destruction of your homes, your churches and cities has obliterated much which is dear and sacred to you. We know that sickness, famine and death are stalking through your land. Our hearts go out to you in sincere sym-

pathy. Our prayers ascend to the Throne of God for you all, not only in public worship, but in private devotions.

Your Lutheran brethren in America seek to find the best means to help you. Now we are limited by the authorities of the armies of occupation. For the present there are many things we would like to do but can't. The Lutheran World Convention, American Section, which I represent, has elaborate plans for coming to your aid. Millions of dollars will be forthcoming if we can reawaken that kinship in the faith which once was so strong.

Dr. Michelfelder went on to express the hope that he might soon be able to visit the churches in Germany personally. In a reference to the martyrs of the struggle against National Socialism, he expressed the hope that a stronger church would emerge from the past trials. Those who had erred in judgment and trusted in deceitful leaders he exhorted to repentance, acknowledging at the same time that "before the throne of God all of us have sinned and gone astray." The letter closed with a plea for a common rededication to the Lord of the Church, who has graciously assured us of His Presence "even unto the end of the world."

Stewart Herman, the only American in attendance at Treysa, later reported that when the Bishop read Michelfelder's letter to the assembly, "it was like opening the window and letting in a ray of light and a breath of fresh air. This was a note which had not been heard in Germany before. It changed the complexion of the meeting completely. The knowledge that American Lutherans cared made the difference."

The Bishop himself responded immediately to Michelfelder's letter, expressing the hope that a personal visit would soon be possible. For the brotherly aid of the American Lutherans he was deeply grateful, and also for their strengthening of the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches. Singled out for special mention was the aid given to Lutheran churches and pastors in other lands where German help could no longer go. Both this work of orphaned missions and the ministry among the German prisoners of war, which Wurm also acknowledged,

had constituted parts of the wartime activities of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention.

At its Treysa meeting the Evangelical Church in Germany had also constituted a National Reconstruction Committee for Germany, and through this committee the first request for assistance was channeled to the World Council of Churches. Though there was a clear statement in this document that the church was grateful that movements were in process to provide material relief and medical aid for Germany, its main burden was that of the spiritual needs of the church. Bibles and catechisms were badly needed. Paper supplies for religious publishing houses in Germany would render the double service of providing the books needed and encouraging the future publication of religious literature. There was evident a deep desire to break away from the long years of isolation and to send theological students abroad on scholarships, and to enable weary pastors and professors to gain some rest and rehabilitation. The committee expressed concern that an office be established within Germany to help reunite lost members of families.

Of the material needs that were mentioned, those of medicines, hospital supplies, bed linens, and uniforms for the deaconesses took first rank. Food and clothing were also included, but it seems apparent that the newly-organized Hilfswerk intended to supply as much of those as possible from local sources.

Back in Geneva the machinery was already being put in motion. Immediately after the staff meeting on August 1, at which the German situation had been discussed, Michelfelder wrote to Dr Ralph Long in New York, urging him to press the needs of starving people in Germany upon the President and the Secretary of State, and to urge the removal of restrictions in order that material aid could be sent by private organizations. On August 7, as Dr. Michelfelder sat calculating a tentative's year's budget for requests to the American Section, he switched on his newly-acquired secondhand radio. The first news he heard came from London, reporting that Russia had declared war on Japan and that the first atomic bomb had destroyed a great Japanese city. "If man can

also develop a conscience," wrote Michelfelder, "then there is some hope for the survival of humanity. If not, then the end of the world is very near. I cannot feel otherwise than that my coming to Europe is timed with the last chance that the church will get to bring Christ to a dying world."

Within a few days Stewart Herman was back in Geneva after his first visit in Germany. He had been in Berlin on the day Michelfelder had heard the London report, and while the bombs that had fallen there had produced no mushroom-shaped clouds, he had seen destruction enough to make him wonder if that great city of four million inhabitants would ever again be rebuilt. Moving through the gaunt alleys and rubble-cluttered streets of this ghost city, he had also seen hundreds of thousands of homeless people, many of them refugees from other ghost cities further east. These were the nomads produced by the actions of Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and other East European Governments, expelling from their borders all persons of German nationality or background.

These movements had begun before the Potsdam Conference, but were confirmed by the agreement of the three signatories that such population transfers should be carried out in an "orderly and humane manner." The Polish government also interpreted the Potsdam Agreement as an authorization to expel several million additional Germans from the provinces east of the Oder-Neisse line, placed under Polish administration. Not until the winter of 1945-46 would the three western zones of occupation begin to feel the effects of these expulsions, but eastern Germany and Berlin were choked with refugees almost as soon as the terms of the Potsdam Agreement had been approved on August 2, 1945. Stewart Herman described it as "a Tolstoyan pageant of human pathos, encompassing all the states of man from premature birth to overdue death." The countless figures of this grim parade, he wrote, "move on foot, by cart, by train, by boat; the only quiet ones are those lying for the last time where they dropped or were dropped." Graves and crosses were the road markers of the refugees!

A PLEA FOR HUMAN LIVES

It was under the impact of such reports that Michelfelder chafed for the opportunity to send physical relief into Germany, urged upon his colleagues the issuance of a joint appeal for American aid, and pled with government officials for the relaxation of military regulations to permit the saving of thousands of human lives in Germany.

The purchase of \$2,500 worth of medicine and bandages in the face of this avalanche of need must have seemed like a drop in the bucket, but when Michelfelder put them aboard a Red Cross caravan bound for Frankfurt and Berlin, he at least had the satisfaction of knowing that the movement had begun. According to his own diary these medicines constituted "the first real relief sent to Germany," and they were purchased with money contributed by American Lutherans.

As the reports of need all over Europe flowed into Geneva, the Reconstruction Committee met more and more frequently. Holland was in need of fifty new churches. Austria needed food and clothing and medicaments. In Vienna the infant mortality rate was the highest in forty years. Thirty-five thousand Lutheran refugees from Transylvania had crowded into Austria and were in dire need. Conditions in Hungary were reported as deplorable. Norway and Finland needed help. In Yugoslavia were half a million orphans; in Poland 400,000 full-orphans and 700,000 half-orphans. Such utter destruction, wrote Michelfelder to a friend in America, "no man has even seen in the days of Sodom and Gomorrha. . . . In the Eastern part of Germany there are no children under two years old, for they have all died. It is like Rachel weeping for her children in Bethlehem."

The Reconstruction Committee did what it could with its limited funds. Dr. W. Robbins Barstow of the Federal Council of Churches in America cabled \$85,000 in late September, and before the end of the year Michelfelder was able to distribute Lutheran aid to prisoners, refugees, and churches in Germany, Finland, France, Holland, Norway, and Italy in the amount of \$144,171. Never had

he worked so hard, or tried so hard, he wrote to a friend, to do something worthwhile for "the millions who are being driven from place to place." "Sometimes," he said, "I feel like a man on a raft in the middle of the ocean, crying for help, and I never know if anyone hears me."

That the cry might at least be raised clearly and distinctly Michelfelder now urged upon the international relief agencies in Geneva the issuance of a strongly-worded joint appeal for material relief before winter should close in. Such a plea, he hoped, broadcast particularly in the American press, would marshal public opinion and force officials to do something. On October 5, 1945, the appeal was issued, written by Dr. Michelfelder, and signed by the various international relief agencies.

"Children by the millions are in imminent danger of starving and freezing as winter comes to Europe," it declared, "unless immediate help comes from the countries which have food, clothing, vitamins and medicines. Helpless children cannot survive much longer unless there is a united effort to save them. Every official, humanitarian, and religious agency must come to the rescue immediately or it will be too late. . . . We who have seen these conditions and heard these cries for help must lay it on the consciences of all to share to the limit of their money and goods now." The agencies pledged themselves "to work together in meeting the needs without regard to nationality, race or creed."

Michelfelder followed this appeal with a personal visit into Germany, his first since arriving in Europe. He was appalled by the total destruction he found in cities such as Stuttgart, Pforzheim, Freiburg, Frankfurt, and Berlin. "Pompeii is in a better state of preservation than these cities," he wrote. "Even the ruins are ruined." In addition to visiting the church leaders whom he had not been able to meet at Treysa, Dr. Michelfelder was able to reach General Dwight Eisenhower, then Supreme Allied Commander, and to present to him the problem of the refugee and the suffering civilian from the viewpoint of the churches of the world. Unfortunately, however, the determination of American authorities to carry through a "hard peace" blocked action which the military

authorities seemed ready to take. Under no circumstances were the German people to receive a higher ration of food than people in countries which had been victimized by German occupation. Although an average American daily diet contained 3,000 calories, a ration of 1,550 calories was established as the official civilian diet for the American-occupied zone in Germany. Even to maintain this minimum, the Army had to ship into Germany more than 500,000 tons of food.

British authorities, on the other hand, very quickly relaxed restrictions to permit private shipments of relief supplies into their zone of occupation, and before the month of October was past, the Swedish freighters *Saga*, *Lena*, and *Gladen* were unloading the first large gift shipments of potatoes, beets, and cabbage at the British-occupied port of Lübeck. The newly-organized Evangelical Hilfswerk undertook the distribution of these gifts in Germany, in addition to the large amounts of locally-donated food and clothing it was administering.

AMERICA HEARS THE APPEAL

Meanwhile, back in the United States the entire Potsdam policy was undergoing sharp and consistent attack from many humanitarians and church people. As early as August 15, two weeks after the Agreement was signed, the *Christian Century* denied that it ever could lead to "a just and enduring peace" as its architects claimed it would. As time passed and the refugees began to stream out of the eastern provinces of Germany under Polish and Russian occupation, the criticisms mounted in intensity. An editorial in the *Christian Century* on November 10 posed the straightforward question: "Are We Murderers?"

To answer questions such as this and to provide firsthand official information for the consciences of the church people of America, the Federal Council of Churches in December, 1945, appointed a commission composed of Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam, Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, and Dr. Franklin Clark Fry to visit Germany and to report to the Council on conditions as they found

them. Although certain of the sectors of gravest need in the Bavarian back country and in Berlin were slighted because of important engagements with officials at the Victory Guest House in Frankfurt and the Harnack House in Berlin, the members of the committee were personally confronted with hundreds of examples of bitterest human suffering. The only possible explanation of their incredible report that there would be "no need or opportunity for the churches or individuals to contribute food, or money to purchase food" for Germany during the coming winter is that the committee believed what they heard from "official sources" in the Victory Guest House rather than what they saw in the squalid barracks at Hof or the gloomy hostels of East Berlin.

One member of the committee, Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, took violent exception to this report and made use of a huge rally in Chicago on January 20, at the opening of a nationwide Lutheran appeal for ten million dollars for relief, to denounce it publicly. The only way to get the ban on private relief shipments into the American Zone of Germany lifted, he declared, was to write to Congress and the President and to mobilize public opinion against the use of "starvation as an instrument of foreign policy." Christian forces must be permitted to minister to human wants wherever existent, "whether those of ally or former enemy."

Prodded by the rising volume of criticism from church and humanitarian agencies in the United States, official Washington gave clearance for a special committee of representatives of the American Council of Voluntary Agencies to visit Germany in January, 1946. Their report, made in Berlin on January 30, stated flatly that the condition of millions in Germany was desperate, and recommended an immediate modification of American official policy. At the same time General Lucius Clay, head of the American Military Government in Germany, assured the committee orally that the desired changes would be made. Yet it was March 1 before an official order from President Truman opened the way for private relief agencies, under a special license of the United States Government, to ship each month a combined total of 2,000 tons of foods, clothing, and medicines into the American Zone.

In any event, a brilliant victory had been registered by an aroused and compassionate public opinion.

From this point on matters moved quickly and smoothly, with the fullest cooperation and even the enthusiastic backing of the President and government officials. Authorized voluntary agencies met to organize the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany, CRALOG, which would be their official contact with the United States Government both in Washington and overseas. Among the organizations included in CRALOG was Lutheran World Relief, established in October, 1945, and recognized by the National Lutheran Council as its official organ for the gathering of material relief.

As one of the major groups participating in CRALOG, Lutheran World Relief was asked to appoint an overseas representative to supervise the handling and distribution of privately contributed relief supplies in Germany. The Reverend Carl Schaffnit, Director of Lutheran Charities in Detroit, Michigan, was nominated, and he arrived in Munich in April, 1946, as the first American Lutheran representative to be stationed in Germany after the end of the war. But before he had even reached Europe, Lutheran World Relief had already dispatched to Germany 10,000 bales of used clothing and bedding, which had been accumulating in the warehouses from the spontaneous gifts of congregations. Twenty-five hundred bales had also gone to Finland, 500 to Poland, 300 to Yugoslavia, 260 to Czecho-Slovakia, and 100 each to Holland and Belgium.

"BIG BUSINESS FOR THE LORD"

In Geneva, Dr. Michelfelder wrote to a friend, things had developed so fast that he hardly knew where to turn. "It was not so long ago," he said, "that we thought of the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches as a work only of rebuilding the church by providing wooden church halls, pastors' stipends, scholarships, Bibles, catechisms, hymnals, perhaps bicycles, or even motor transportation. Those were the days when we dreamed that the great international organizations, with bil-

lions of dollars in hand, would care for all the physical wants of the people in Europe. We were almost lulled to sleep by the great promises of those who ought to know. Then there came a cry for help from hungry, freezing people."

Under the compulsion of this stark awakening, the World Council of Churches asked Dr. Michelfelder in November, 1945, to organize the Division of Material Aid as a part of the work of the Department of Reconstruction and Interchurch Aid. Michelfelder thus became the coordinator, not only of the Lutheran gifts, but of all material relief which was channeled through the World Council. On the wall of his office he placed maps of Europe, showing the occupation lines of the four armies which had conquered Europe and also the number of deportees and refugees, running into the millions. On another map he circled the key places in central Europe to which information lines must be kept open. From Geneva in the center, lines reached out to Paris, Brussels, Amsterdam, Frankfurt, Oslo, Turku, Warsaw, Budapest, Vienna, and Prague. From the World's YMCA Michelfelder leased a warehouse at the "Free Port" of Geneva, and into this center flowed every conceivable commodity to alleviate human need. At one random inspection there were 27,000 cartons of rolled oats, \$50,000 worth of dried milk powder, 12,000 surplus army blankets, 20,000 pairs of shoes, 23,000 yards of muslin, scores of sewing machines, and almost before the totals had been spoken, they were obsolete because the goods had been shipped out to the area of greatest need. It was indeed, as Michelfelder put it, "big business for the Lord."

MICHELFELDER'S "CHALLENGE OF A LIFETIME"

In the midst of all this activity came a very significant development within the family of world Lutheranism. The first tentative efforts to revive the broken relationships within the Lutheran World Convention after the war had been made by Dr. Ralph Long and Dr. P. O. Bersell when they visited London and Stockholm in

the early spring of 1945. As a result of this visit a Liaison Committee had been set up, with Archbishop Erling Eidem of Sweden as honorary chairman, to handle reconstruction questions until the Executive Committee could begin to function again. As the war ended, there was a marked coolness among Scandinavian churchmen toward the resumption of any relations with the Germans, and efforts to reactivate the Executive Committee met with no success. Once again, reminiscent of the days of 1919, the impulse came from the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention. This committee had maintained its identity without lapse throughout the war years, and even before the war ended had at its disposal a Church Rehabilitation Fund of \$200,000, drawn from the Lutheran World Action appeals of the National Lutheran Council in anticipation of the great needs which would be revealed when the war was over.

In the fall of 1945 the American Section decided to send a delegation of three men—Drs. Long, Fry, and Aasgaard—to Europe with the double purpose of investigating conditions among the churches and of reassembling the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention. Undaunted by the failure of one attempt to bring a complete Scandinavian delegation to an earlier European Lutheran World Convention meeting in Copenhagen in August, the Americans arranged for a second Copenhagen attempt in December, following their visit in Geneva and their tour of Germany. Again Scandinavian representation was small, but certain significant steps were taken nevertheless. Anticipating the resignation of Bishop Marahrens of Hannover both as president and as a member of the Executive Committee, this temporary Liaison Committee asked Archbishop Erling Eidem to serve as Acting President and Dr. S. C. Michelfelder as Secretary. Arrangements were made for an official meeting of the Executive Committee at Uppsala, Sweden, in July, 1946.

Although he was not present when the Liaison Committee met in Copenhagen, Dr. Michelfelder was duly informed concerning the additional responsibilities which were now to devolve upon him. When he left his parish in Toledo, Ohio, it had been with

the understanding that he would return after one year in Europe. Increasingly, however, it had become clear to him that such an early return would be impossible in view of the mounting responsibilities. Members of his congregation urged him to come back, and he himself felt keenly the tug of personal and pastoral ties. But the crying needs of the present and the great expectations he held for world Lutheranism in the future compelled him to stay at his post. From his natural, inner self, wrote Dr. Michelfelder, came the word, "Go back to Toledo, where things are well organized, to the congregation which is a preacher's dream, leave the inconveniences, the difficulties and the worries and the heartaches and the rubble and the broken lives of Europe, and return to your congregation in Toledo." But his soul answered, "You must obey God rather than man."

To his congregation he wrote the decisive letter on January 14, 1946. "My call to duty seems clear. I have wrestled for weeks with my conscience and I have finally surrendered to what has become increasingly clear as a call from God to serve Him in this important capacity in Europe. I feel that under the providence of God the Lutheran Church has been called upon to do a great work in the reconstruction of that which has been destroyed." This work, which he felt with deepest conviction might be the "last chance" of the church, he was willing to undertake in what he, at the age of fifty-six, was pleased to call "the greatest challenge of my life."

It is quite significant that this decision of Michelfelder was made within the framework of the ecumenical movement. Twenty-seven years earlier, when American Lutheran commissioners came to Europe for their postwar survey, there was no ecumenical center to which they could relate their relief efforts. This time, although it was certainly not geared for such a service, there was a "World Council in process of formation," and it was with the Reconstruction Department of this new organization in Geneva in 1945 that Drs. Long, Bersell, and Meyer had made the agreement to coordinate the relief efforts of the Lutherans of America. European Lutherans such as Bishop Söderblom had long been leaders

in the growing ecumenical movement, and even the small "continuation staff" set up by Dr. Visser t'Hooft in Geneva had included two Lutherans, Dr. Nils Ehrenstrom and Dr. Hans Schönfeld, in the Study Department. But prior to this agreement in 1945 in Geneva there had been very limited official connections between the World Council movement and traditionally conservative American Lutheranism. Dr. Michelfelder's appointment to serve as European Commissioner, with offices in the Department of Reconstruction, implemented this agreement, and in due course at least partially determined the location of the future headquarters of the Lutheran World Federation. Although other considerations were also important, the fact that Dr. Michelfelder was already located in his office in the "gate house" at 17 Route de Malagnou as Material Aid Director for the World Council made the final decision much easier.

The close relation of the Lutheran World Federation to the World Council of Churches has been symbolized very well by their life together on the same campus ever since 1947. From the beginning there has been the closest cooperation and a strong Lutheran support of the World Council program, both financially and otherwise. But in keeping with their conviction that only as representatives of their own theological tradition could they make their best contribution to the ecumenical movement, the Lutheran churches have in addition maintained a separate organization to strengthen and to serve their own confessional family.

Dr. Michelfelder's own deep personal involvement in ecumenical obligations is reflected in the letter which he wrote to the president of St. Paul's Congregation explaining his decision to remain in Europe. Although his mounting responsibilities as Commissioner of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention, particularly in view of the ten-million-dollar appeal which was being undertaken by the Lutherans in the United States, might well have been the decisive factor for him, he laid primary stress upon the urgency of his tasks as Director of the new Division of Material Aid which he had been asked to organize for the World Council. The other great assignment which had been laid upon him in

connection with the reorganization of the Lutheran World Convention would subsequently dominate both his time and his thought, but in January, 1946, he had not yet been officially named Executive Secretary, nor had any decision been made concerning a world Lutheran assembly.

Meanwhile, with the blessing of the American Section, which agreed to share his services with the World Council, Michelfelder moved with zest and vigor further into his overwhelming task of administering material relief. Both his own enthusiasm and something of the complexity of the operation he was conducting were reflected in a letter he wrote in early April:

I am buying \$5000 worth of wheat and flax seed for Hungary, for sowing immediately. I hope to find it in Switzerland. I have had a telephone offer of 500 tons of sugar—think of it!—in a country which is short of sugar. I have also had an offer of 50 tons of honey from South America. . . . I am preparing a cargo of stuff—including material aid and textbooks—for Roumania, together with a truck, which will be shipped by sea from Marseilles to Constanza. Dr. Cockburn just handed me a letter from the “Institute of Orthodox Theology” in Paris, asking for the purchase of about one thousand dollars worth of furniture, including beds, chairs, and tables. So, you see, we get theology and furniture all mixed up in the same letter.

Additional staff obviously had to be recruited, and in early 1946 this was no easy matter. But by March 1, Michelfelder wrote that he could “begin to see over the top.” He had secured an administrative secretary, a traffic manager to direct the huge warehouse, a personal secretary to handle Lutheran World Convention affairs, and by early April a business manager to relieve him of office details.

Not only was it necessary to have a smoothly operating clearing house for material relief in Europe, but also close personal liaison had to be maintained with both contributing and receiving countries and churches, and with other relief agencies, both governmental and private. Such trips in Europe in 1946 were strenuous but absolutely essential to intelligent service and of incalculable importance in the strengthening of interchurch ties. Michelfelder told

of returning from one such mission to Sweden, feeling weary and out-of-sorts. But when he learned that 84-year-old Dr. John R. Mott had just completed a three-weeks tour of England, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Finland, Holland, and Germany, he felt ashamed of himself "for even looking woofed."

PREPARING FOR LUND

One of the additional supports given during these months by the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention was the appointment of Rev. Clifford Ansgar Nelson, pastor of Gloria Dei Lutheran Church in St. Paul, Minnesota, as special commissioner to assist Michelfelder by making visitation trips into Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Austria. Michelfelder hailed Nelson's acceptance of this six-month assignment as the "rising of the sun on a new day." Not only was he delighted at the prospect of some assistance in the overwhelming tasks which he faced, but he regarded the appointment as an official recognition on the part of the American Lutherans of their responsibility to do more than collect money and supplies and send them to stricken peoples and churches. The most effective kind of interchurch aid, he felt, was that which was channeled through living personalities. Only in this way could the church outgrow its isolationism, deepen its spiritual life, and increase its vitality.

That Nelson shared Michelfelder's sense of urgency was shown in his readiness to take leave of his congregation even in the midst of a Lenten season. The flaming dawn which was breaking over Europe as his plane approached Geneva on the Saturday before Easter reminded him that this broken continent was "in His hands who once made a resurrection day after the tragedy of Good Friday."

After a few days of orientation in Geneva, the new commissioner left for Prague on the first of a series of extremely significant visitations in Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, and Austria. On the basis of these surveys the American Section was able to direct its earliest measures of interchurch aid in eastern and central Europe. In the

400,000-member Slovakian Lutheran Church were ample evidences of physical destruction and human suffering—entire villages destroyed and churches in shambles—but even more important than physical relief to these people was the visible assurance given by a personal visit that there were Lutherans elsewhere in the world who prayed for them and remembered them as brothers in the faith. From Bratislava Nelson wrote to Dr. Fry, “I think I know now for sure why I am here, and I shall pursue my vocation to the best of my ability.” From his facile pen flowed a steady stream of letters and reports and articles, many of which found their way into church papers in both Sweden and the United States and gave added impulse to the rising will to help among the Lutherans of these lands.

No sooner had he returned from Czecho-Slovakia than he hurried north to Germany where he and Dr. Michelfelder made the first survey of camps for Baltic refugees under the jurisdiction of the United Nations, on the basis of which the Lutheran World Federation’s program of spiritual ministry to “Displaced Persons” was to be undertaken.

In the cathedral city of Uppsala, Sweden, the long-delayed meeting of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention finally was convened on the 23rd of July by Archbishop Erling Eidem, Acting President. In one sense this meeting expressed a continuity of organization now to be resumed after an unhappy six-year interlude of war. It was in this spirit that the suggestion was made to adopt the same theme for the next world assembly as had been planned for the ill-starred Philadelphia Convention of 1940: “The Lutheran Church in the World Today.”

But as Dr. Michelfelder pointed out, even if the same theme were to be adopted, “today’s world” was quite different from that of 1940, and the men who would meet to discuss that theme would also be different men. In this sense the Uppsala meeting represented a new beginning. In keeping with this viewpoint, a completely new constitution was proposed, and a new name as well. The name “Convention” had carried the implication of periodic assemblies rather than that of an on-going program. Much

more desirable would be a name suggesting a closer fellowship of churches, engaged in a program of mutual strengthening and assistance.

The committee's selection of the name Lutheran World Federation represented an unspoken tribute to Dr. John A. Morehead, who twenty-seven years earlier had sensed the need among the Lutherans of the world for just such a fellowship of faith and had recommended to his American colleagues the creation of an organization bearing precisely that name. It, was, moreover, entirely appropriate that the committee named as its Executive Secretary Dr. S. C. Michelfelder, the man whose character and activity had already made him the World War II counterpart of Dr. Morehead. On his shoulders the Executive Committee laid the responsibility for the planning of the First World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, which at the invitation of the newly-elected President, Archbishop Eidem, would be held at Lund, Sweden, from June 30 to July 6, 1947.

Of the four German members of the Executive Committee, only Bishop Meiser of Bavaria was able to be present at Uppsala, and he arrived only in time for the closing session. Dr. Ihmels and Dr. Sommerlath of Leipzig were both detained and arrived in Stockholm after the meetings were over. One of the most dramatic moments of the entire meeting occurred, however, as Bishop Meiser entered the room and was greeted by Archbishop Eidem. Responding to Meiser's moving acknowledgment of the guilt of his people in the tragedy of the past years and his joy at being received again into the family of fellow believers, the archbishop replied that in our Christian faith we have learned that "nothing can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus."

In its official message to the Lutheran churches of the world, the Executive Committee acknowledged the sufferings and terrors of the past war as the judgment of God upon a whole generation which had turned its back upon Him. "None of us can stand aside as though he were not a part of it. Its sin and need are our sin and need." But, as people and as churches under the judgment of God, we have been granted the grace "to be members in Christ,

and to share in His life" and in His love. Holding fast to "Him who is the Head," the Lutheran churches of the world must proclaim the Gospel vigorously to a world which has been alienated from God and submerged in suffering. In merciful love they must "undergird one another with spiritual and material aid." The motivation to closer fellowship among Lutherans in the world is the need for mutual strengthening in the task of bringing the Gospel in word and deed to a world under the judgment of God.

MORE MEN IN THE FIELD

Not quite one year was to elapse before the World Assembly planned by the Executive Committee would take place in Lund. These were to be months in which the message from Uppsala would be documented in dramatic form. Evidences of the judgment of God upon the people of the world were often clearer in the aftermath of the war than in the war itself. Though no more bombs were falling, there were millions of homeless people wandering through gutted cities and along frozen country roads. Undernourishment and exposure snuffed out the lives of thousands during that bitterest of bitter winters, 1946-1947. Wives sought their husbands, and children their parents, in a thousand hopeless and forbidding camps. Spiritual hunger vied with physical hunger, and the shattered churches of Europe tried to minister to both.

But into this darkness the love of God had begun to shine, through the acts of compassion and mercy from Christians all over the world. After a brief furlough in the United States, which he filled to capacity with speaking engagements in support of his church's great ten-million-dollar appeal, Dr. Michelfelder returned to Geneva, and from his central location there continued to coordinate both the material aid program for the World Council of Churches and the flow of money for church reconstruction which came in increasing amount from the Lutherans of America. Only by increasing his staff of assistants could he possibly manage both of these great tasks, and in addition direct the preparations for the Lund Assembly.

Clifford Nelson continued to perform valuable services among the churches of eastern Europe, and immediately following the Uppsala meeting made the first of several visits into Poland. Among the Lutherans of Mazuria in the former Polish Corridor he found such hunger and such physical and spiritual devastation as he had found nowhere else in Europe. In Warsaw, "the most destroyed city of Europe," where 700,000 had died and 85 per cent of the housing had been reduced to rubble, he found "no beginning and no end to the ruins." The main street, "Jerosalimska," reminded him of a "wild west" scene, with its sidewalk shops and its street-hawkers dispensing tobacco, jewelry, and household goods, in the hope of securing a little money for the exorbitantly high-priced food. In the shattered shell of Trinity Church, once able to accommodate five thousand worshippers, he knelt on the bare earth with Bishop Szeruda and his congregation for communion, and wondered if the unsmiling faces about him would ever be brightened again.

In Poland Nelson came in contact with one portion of the extensive and varied relief efforts of the Lutheran people of Sweden in the person of Pastor Daniel Cederberg, treasurer of the Swedish Section of the Lutheran World Convention. As a former seamen's pastor in Gdynia, Cederberg knew the Polish situation well, and was engaged in making a survey of need on which to base recommendations for material assistance from his Swedish committee. Long before the Lutheran World Federation undertook its program of aid to the Baltic Lutherans in Germany, the Swedish church had extended the warm hand of welcome to thousands of Estonian Lutherans who had sought refuge in Sweden, and had given financial assistance to Estonian pastors.

Swedish shipments of food had been among the first to enter British-occupied Germany in 1945. The channels through which assistance flowed from Sweden to the areas of need in Europe were so diverse that it is difficult to measure the volume accurately. Total gifts, however, compared proportionately very favorably with those which came from American Lutherans during the years of greatest need. Nelson's close associations with the Swedish church

during these next few months led him to feel strongly the need for greater coordination with their committees in the planning of inter-church aid and material relief programs for Europe. Both this purpose and that of assisting in the preparations for the World Assembly he felt could well be served by the stationing of a Lutheran World Federation representative in Sweden.

Early in November, 1946, Dr. Clifford Nelson, recently honored by the Slovakian University of Bratislava with an honorary doctorate, returned to the United States on furlough. His six-month term in Europe had been packed with extremely strenuous travel and visitation in the eastern countries, and with vivid and often heart-rending personal confrontations of human suffering and need. He had just agreed to return to Geneva in February as a permanent member of the staff and had submitted his resignation to his congregation in St. Paul, when he collapsed during a Christmas communion service in his own church. Medical advisers diagnosed his ailment as "battle fatigue" and, to his great disappointment, advised strongly against his return to Europe. In a very real sense Dr. Nelson had become a casualty of the terrific struggle of soul and body in the church of postwar Europe.

Meanwhile, other American representatives had arrived in Europe to assist Michelfelder. Professor Julius Bodensieck, president of Wartburg Theological Seminary in Dubuque, Iowa, arrived in time to attend the Uppsala meeting before taking over his duties as Commissioner to Germany for the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention. From the time of his arrival until his final departure from Germany in 1953, few Americans have enjoyed such wholehearted confidence or been so beloved by the German church as he. His wife, too, quickly became associated in her own right with assistance to Displaced Persons, and went on to serve in several other capacities in Germany as well. During the course of 1946 three American Lutheran CRALOG representatives came to Germany to supervise the distribution of food and clothing shipments of Lutheran World Relief. These men, though not in the strictest sense attached to Dr. Michelfelder's office, were instructed to advise with him concerning the disposition of their supplies and to make

whatever contacts with the German Lutheran churches their relief activities would permit.

Since the CRALOG men were officially attached to the Military Government in Germany, such direct contacts were at first restricted by the non-fraternization regulations of the Army. By early 1947 these barriers were removed, and it was one of these representatives, Dr. John Scherzer, then stationed in Munich, who accompanied the German delegation to the Lund Assembly, and together with Professor Theodore Tappert facilitated for them what might otherwise have been difficult currency and travel arrangements.

THE LUND ASSEMBLY

Following the Second World War a little more than two years were required to lay new groundwork and bring representatives together for the First World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation. As in 1919-23 the initiative was provided by the Lutheran leaders of the United States, whose role as bearers of assistance to their stricken brethren of Europe thrust them into a position of leadership. The only other Lutheran church which might have taken the lead was that of Sweden, which also played a leading role as a bearer of gifts. It was hindered, however, by political tensions within Scandinavia and by the broad ecumenical consciousness fostered in Sweden under Nathan Söderblom's leadership, which inclined some Swedish Lutherans toward ecumenical rather than primarily confessional loyalty. Anglican influence in Scandinavia after the war was also very strong, as dramatized by the London presentation of the Lambeth Cross to Bishop Berggrav of Norway by the Archbishop of Canterbury in October, 1945.

For these reasons, and because of the general tenseness toward the Germans after the war, the gathering of 184 delegates from 22 different countries for a World Lutheran Assembly on June 30, 1947, was an occasion for special rejoicing and for humble gratitude to God. One could scarcely imagine a more appropriate word of Scripture under which to assemble at that moment in history

than that which Archbishop Eidem selected from the Letter to the Colossians as his text at the opening communion service in the Lund Cathedral:

"Put on, therefore, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, lowliness, meekness, longsuffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye: and above all these things put on love, which is the bond of perfectness. And let the peace of Christ rule in your hearts, to the which also ye were called in one body; and be ye thankful."

As had been demonstrated in the decades following World War I, the mere coming together of Lutherans did not produce unity, nor did it convince everyone of the desirability of a continuing organization. There was therefore ample reason for Dr. Ralph Long, the Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council in New York, to deliver an eloquent keynote address on "The Place of the Lutheran World Federation in the World Today."

Pointing out that the Federation was to be a "free association of Lutheran churches," with the same doctrinal basis as that adopted at Eisenach in 1923, Dr. Long based his address upon the purposes of the Federation as set forth in the proposed new Constitution:

"To bear united witness before the world to the gospel of Jesus Christ as the power of God for salvation."

"To cultivate unity of faith and confession among Lutheran churches of the world."

"To promote fellowship and cooperation in study among Lutherans."

"To foster Lutheran participation in ecumenical movements."

"To develop a united Lutheran approach to responsibilities in missions and education."

"To support Lutheran groups in need of spiritual or material aid."

"The primary task of the Lutheran Church today," said Dr. Long, "is to arise and to stand united as brethren of a common faith" to meet the issues of the hour heroically. "Because Lutherans need each other so desperately, it is imperative that an organization such as the Lutheran World Federation be created and supported."

Something of the complexity of the tasks to be faced was sug-

gested in the breakdown of the somewhat prosaic general theme of the Assembly: "The Lutheran Church in the World Today." The first section of delegates concentrated on the theological aspects of the theme, discussing the need of "confessing the Truth in a confused world." Section Two viewed the Lutheran church "performing her mission in a devastated world" through evangelism, missions, stewardship, and interchurch aid. The third section centered its work about "Facing the Problems in a Troubled World," and singled out the struggle for human freedom and international understanding, and the practical problem of the refugee.

Over the entire Assembly brooded a sense of sober urgency. The atmosphere of the cathedral city of Lund was peaceful and quiet, but every delegate was aware of what terrible spiritual and physical devastation lay just beyond the horizon. In a very real sense the Christian faith was on trial, and countless thousands in rags and tatters were judge and jury. "The enemy does not rest," warned Lajos Ordass, Lutheran Bishop of Budapest. "He is always at work . . . and how eagerly he works." But at the command of the Lord of the Church, every Christian must also work. By the grace of God "man can have a new beginning." "Tell it to all your co-laborers who begin to despair. Let us declare it here and now. It is a bright day which God gives us, and . . . 'We must work while it is day.'"

Not all of the problems of a troubled world could be affected by the resolutions of the Lund Assembly. But one of them, that of the wanderer on the face of the earth, was frighteningly accessible. The report of Section Three showed that the brooding urgency of the hour was not to be pent up or stifled. At its suggestion the delegates approved a series of statements which gave distinction to the Lund Assembly far beyond its historic character as the First World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation. "Moved by the grave material and spiritual distress in which more than 40 million homeless and displaced persons and refugees find themselves at the present time," the Federation expressed its desire to take all possible steps in cooperation with ecumenical and international relief organizations to alleviate the suffering of these displaced persons.

Not only were the member churches urged to petition their respective governments to aid refugees without regard to origin, language, nationality, or status, but the officers of the Federation were requested to intercede with those governments and with the United Nations. Even more significantly, the churches themselves were urged to fulfill their own responsibility toward these people by prayer and by generous giving to support programs of material and spiritual aid. The Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation was also asked to devise emigration and resettlement plans for Lutheran refugees and to safeguard the religious life of Lutheran displaced persons. Thus in the Assembly at Lund was born the widespread program of Services to Refugees, which in the years that followed brought new hope and new homes to thousands of Lutheran exiles.

Having elected Professor Anders Nygren of Lund as the first president of the Lutheran World Federation and Dr. S. C. Michelfelder as its first executive secretary, the Lund Assembly closed on July 6 with greetings to Christian congregations and assemblies in all the world. Its message spoke gratefully of the achievement of a federation of forty-six Lutheran churches in twenty-six countries. "Based on solid scriptural foundations, it has been formed in Christian faith and love." Yet it was not established with any pretention of providing an easy remedy for the ills of the world. It grew out of the desire for a unified witness and a better medium for Lutheran cooperation and mutual assistance. In a broken world, fellow-believers had been summoned to a community of suffering, but also a fellowship of blessing.

The Gospel of the Inasmuch

With the signing of the new constitution at Lund, the second chapter of the modern experiment in Lutheran world unity opened. After auspicious beginnings at Eisenach in 1923, the Lutheran World Convention had fallen victim to ecclesiastical conservatism, economic depression, and war. But the impulse to help brethren in need had not been lost, and when the cry for help was raised again, Lutherans in all parts of the world responded. Once more this outreach of love resulted in the forming of a world organization, through which the churches could more effectively deal with immediate and overwhelming needs, and also give permanence to the brotherly ties established in the process.

The Lutheran World Convention had been established just as the period of acute need following the first World War was coming to an end. The Federation had the advantage of having been founded virtually at the beginning of such a period of need. Through its relief and reconstruction activities it became identified in the minds of both giving and receiving churches as an effectively functioning organization. The decisions of the delegates to the World Assembly at Hannover in 1952 represented a vote of confidence in an organization which in five years of testing had demonstrated its ability to carry the emergency responsibilities thrust

upon it and thus to strengthen the witness of the Lutheran church in the world.

In these first years, programs of concrete assistance were far more important than study programs in winning support for the idea of a continuing Federation. Assistance was of three general types: material aid to relieve acute physical want; the reconstruction of church properties and the strengthening of the inner life of the churches; and the special ministry to the refugee, including resettlement.

The story of Lutheran participation in these three great emergency missions is a dramatic one, filled with both light and shadow. Never in the history of the Christian church has there been such an overwhelming and sustained outpouring of gifts for the relief of suffering as this. Thousands of human lives have been saved, and churches have been encouraged and strengthened to carry on their Christian witness under what otherwise would have been insuperable difficulties. Most of this giving has been done by people who have had little if any personal acquaintance with the recipients of their gifts. A great portion of the giving has been directed to people of countries which not long before had been regarded as enemies. Lutherans of Norway and Denmark have actually brought gifts to their erstwhile occupiers. Congregations postponed their own urgently needed expansion programs in order to divert funds to the reconstruction of church properties they had not even heard of before. Communities busied themselves to find homes and employment for refugees from virtually unknown lands who spoke languages they could not understand.

What motivated the members of Christian congregations in Canada and Australia, in Scandinavia and America, to share their homes and their means with these people in far-distant lands? Did they simply give of their surplus, without much cost to themselves? The stereotype of America as the land of millionaires, false in itself, was certainly not applicable to the people of the church. Nor did the thousands of women in Sweden, who came together weekly in groups to sew baby clothes for the needy children of Germany, give of their wealth. Only those who themselves have packed boxes

of clothing or food and accompanied them with postage and prayer across the seas fully understand the amount of planning and time and effort that have been expended in such a ministry of love. When one realizes that in one month in 1953 the West German post office counted 2,500,000 individual parcels being sent to the eastern provinces from West Germany alone, it becomes clear that the volume of such private giving on an international scale over a period of ten years must have been astronomical. No statistics on this phase of postwar aid will ever be assembled. But it is thereby at least made clear that the callousness and brutality of war are not able to crush the good impulses in men to share with those in need.

When this period of sharing began, the Lutheran churches of the world knew very little about one another. Well-organized campaigns to bring information concerning the needs of the people and the churches were undertaken, and while not all the giving that resulted was "informed giving," there is no doubt that in the process genuine bonds of understanding and brotherhood were forged. This was not simply a humanitarian appeal, but an appeal in the name of Christ to share the blessings which God had entrusted. A triple blessing thus resulted: needs were fulfilled; Christian stewardship was developed; and the bond of faith between churches and between Christians was strengthened and enriched. This was the intention of the World Assembly at Lund, when it summoned Lutherans around the world to accept the responsibilities of a "community of suffering" and a "fellowship in blessing."

Such an ideal was not easily reached, even in the area of material relief where the apostolic injunction could be literally applied: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink." Even some Christians, in the tense days following the capitulation of Germany, felt that repentance ought to precede relief. Most people, however, felt that the task of administering physical aid to prostrate Europe was so overwhelming that only an international organization of the scope of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration could possibly handle it. Designed originally to bring help to areas and peoples liberated by the Allied nations,

UNRRA had been set up on November 9, 1943, through a 44-nation agreement, more than a year before the formal organization of the United Nations at San Francisco in 1945. Financed by contributions from member nations in the amount of one percent of their national incomes, this huge organization poured literally hundreds of millions of dollars into liberated areas during its four years of existence.

A real problem arose when it became clear that none of this vast amount of money would be available for the relief of suffering people within Germany or any of the nations associated with her, including Finland. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the Morgenthau policy toward conquered Germany—never officially adopted, but actually followed for many months—was so vengeful that near-starvation of even the civilian population in the American Zone was not only tolerated but insisted upon. This became especially critical when millions of expellees crowded into the Russian Zone of Germany and began to spill over into the western zones in late 1945 following the Potsdam Agreement. Only after an aroused public opinion exerted heavy pressure upon the United States Government were private agencies permitted to send relief goods into these critical areas.

LUTHERAN WORLD RELIEF CROSSES THE OCEAN

Among Lutherans in the United States the first organized effort to gather supplies for eventual shipment to areas ineligible for UNRRA aid came in October, 1945, with the organization of Lutheran World Relief. To permit freer movement in the purchasing and shipping of goods and in dealings with the Government, Lutheran World Relief was incorporated as an agency separate from the National Lutheran Council. Its first officers were Dr. Franklin Clark Fry, chairman; Dr. Ralph Long, secretary; and Mr. S. Frederick Telleen, treasurer. As Executive Secretary of the Division of Welfare of the National Lutheran Council, Dr. Clarence E. Krumbholz assumed administrative responsibility and secured as admin-

istrative assistant a young man named Luther Kirsch. No sooner was the corporation registered with the President's War Relief Control Board and authorized to operate in Europe than gifts from Lutheran congregations in the United States and Canada began to arrive. To store these items and to prepare them for shipment, a warehouse was hurriedly secured at Easton, Pennsylvania, and detailed shipping instructions were sent to every pastor of the National Lutheran Council. In February, 1946, the first shipments of clothing left the United States bound for Finland and Holland. Czecho-Slovakia, Poland, Yugoslavia, and Germany were added to the list in succeeding weeks.

Lutheran World Relief was recognized from the beginning as the official agency of the National Lutheran Council for the handling of material relief, and was therefore able to coordinate its appeals to the churches with the regular Lutheran World Action appeals of the Council. The organized effort to secure a change in official government policy toward Germany, in which Lutheran World Relief participated, also served to dramatize the need for material relief in Europe. The result was that within the first six months of 1946 more than 2,500,000 pounds of food and clothing were gathered and shipped. These first shipments included two tons of supplies gathered by Lutherans in the Hawaiian Islands and shipped 5,000 miles to the warehouse in Easton for processing and baling.

When the United States Government finally opened the way for private relief goods to enter the American Zone of Germany, it called upon the American Council of Voluntary Agencies for Foreign Service to form a special organization of agencies licensed for this service. This new agency, the Council of Relief Agencies Licensed to Operate in Germany, was to be the official channel for negotiations with the United States Government both in this country and overseas. CRALOG, as it was popularly known, was allocated military space and tonnage on ships bound for Germany, and in turn allocated the space to the various accredited agencies.

The larger agencies were also authorized to have a certain number of official CRALOG representatives stationed in Germany for the purpose of supervising the handling and distribution of shipments. These men were accredited to the military government authorities in Berlin and accorded full logistic support by the United States Army, although their salaries were paid by their home organizations. By November, 1946, Lutheran World Relief had men in each of the three western zones of Germany. The Reverend Carl Schaffnit had been in Munich in the American Zone since April, 1946, but was about to undertake a new assignment, ministering to the Lutheran refugees in the DP camps. He was replaced by the Reverend John Scherzer of San Antonio, Texas. The Reverend Frank Brown, former army chaplain, was located in Bremen for the British Zone, and the Reverend Dr. Owen J. C. Norem, former United States Minister to Lithuania, was at Baden-Baden in the French Zone.

Before these men left the United States, they were given specific instructions containing basic policies of relief distribution. The men were to be first of all official representatives of Lutheran World Relief, supervising the distribution of goods shipped to Germany and reporting periodically on the needs as they observed them. As CRALOG representatives they were to maintain close liaison with the Evangelical Hilfswerk, the relief agency of the German Protestant churches, which was to distribute the supplies within Germany. American Lutherans thus considered the sending of such material relief as a type of interchurch aid. It was never their intent to carry out an independent relief operation within the territory of a church, but rather to work through the existing church channels, thereby strengthening the church in the performance of its own responsibilities. On behalf of both the provincial and the free churches of Germany the Evangelical Hilfswerk performed this emergency ministry of material relief in an admirable way.

The Lutheran World Relief representatives had no formal mandate to the churches of Germany, but they were encouraged to

contact church officials and institutions to assure them of the brotherly interest of American Lutherans and to interpret to them the motivations behind American giving. They were also instructed to establish close relations with Dr. Michelfelder, the chief European Commissioner of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention, whose work as material aid director for the World Council of Churches gave him a broad view of the relief needs of the entire European continent.

The CRALOG men were among the first field representatives of the American Lutheran churches in Germany after the war. The experience of one of these men, the Reverend John Scherzer, stationed in Munich from November, 1946, to November, 1947, is fairly typical of them all. Even the assistance of the United States Army could not always simplify travel and communication in these early months. When Scherzer stepped off his commercial plane in London, it was left largely to his own ingenuity to complete his journey to Frankfurt and Berlin. He virtually hitchhiked his way to Frankfurt on a military plane and secured overnight accommodations in the American Press Center there by showing a copy of the *Lutheran Standard* which he happened to have in his suitcase. Only then was he able to make telephone contact with the Military Government Headquarters in Berlin where he was expected to report. As he walked from the Rhine-Main Airport, for lack of bus transportation, a German civilian offered to help him carry his two heavy suitcases and his brief case into Frankfurt. After walking some distance with the heavy burden, the man stopped to take off his overcoat. Scherzer noted in the lining of the coat the label: San Antonio, Texas, the city from which he had just come. Lutheran World Relief, it would appear, had already laid down some direct lines!

Having secured his proper credentials in Berlin, Scherzer traveled to Munich in southern Germany. His first report to Dr. Krumbholz, following a field trip to Nürnberg, left no doubt either of the need or the importance of the relief operation he had undertaken.

"Life is precariously balanced continually on the brink of a crisis," he wrote. "A 1500 or 1600 calorie diet is insufficient, and yet that is the best standard." Sometimes even that standard was maintained only on paper. "Please shout it to the churches," he pleaded. "Rolled oats, corn meal, flour of all kinds, powdered milk and eggs, any such staple items that are without frills and fancy are needed in quantity."

Clothing, too, was needed desperately. Most people he met were wearing the only clothes they possessed, with sleeves and elbows frayed and mended. Charitable institutions of the Inner Mission did what they could to cope with the problem, but the never-ending stream of refugees and returning prisoners of war from the East almost overwhelmed them. Of all the misery he saw, wrote Scherzer, these returning prisoners were "the sorriest sight on God's earth." More than half of them returned as human derelicts, walking like haunted ghosts. Some of them found their families again; others were not so fortunate. In either event, said Scherzer, "their suffering is unfathomed."

The plight of the youth weighed especially heavily upon his mind, and he repeatedly urged upon the churches of America some effort to strengthen the Youth Department of the German church and help them set up a program of occupational training. "We need equipment," he pleaded, ". . . leather, nails, raw cotton, and raw wool. Hilfswerk could use a hundred bales of raw cotton, and that would do more to provide infant clothing and hospital bedding than anything else." This would save money for everyone and would also give the demoralized German youth something to do.

These same young people, and thousands of children besides, were desperately in need of supplementary food rations. Through CRALOG the Hilfswerk was given thousands of pounds of food to enrich the diet at summer camps operated by the church and by the YMCA. The American Section of the Lutheran World Convention allocated \$235,000 of its \$500,000 child-feeding program to Germany, and CRALOG representatives assisted in the distribu-

tion of these supplies in Berlin and throughout western Germany.

Even theological books and clerical robes for the destitute pastors were shipped in and distributed as soon as the list of items permitted to enter Germany under the CRALOG agreement was expanded to include cultural, religious, and recreational supplies. Had it not been for the World Council of Churches and the American churches, wrote Scherzer, the desolation would have been greater than anything actually experienced. "The love which has come with the voluntary relief goods from the churches has satisfied a hunger which bread alone cannot still." "If, by the grace of God," it were possible to "keep up this race between despair and hope for the next few months," a major victory would be won.

The services rendered by these early ambassadors of Christian love and good will are difficult to overestimate. They came to Germany under an official mandate to distribute their bounties on the basis of greatest need, without regard to race or color or creed. But because they came in this spirit, ways were also opened to them to serve their own Lutheran church. Scherzer established contact almost immediately with Bishop Meiser of the Bavarian Lutheran Church and was able to assist him and his church in many ways. As he became acquainted within church circles during the course of the year, he was asked to preach in the churches, and thus for entire congregations became the embodiment of the brotherly Christian concern with which they were being surrounded by their fellow Lutherans across the seas. He preached four times in Nürnberg on a single Sunday, and on New Year's Eve more than 2500 people gathered by the light of a single light bulb in the shattered Church of St. Lawrence to listen to him explain the workings of the program of Lutheran World Relief.

Beginning with Carl Schaffnit, a long series of CRALOG representatives administered programs of material relief and interchurch aid among the churches of Germany. Earl Rogers came to Munich after Scherzer returned to his congregation in San Antonio. When Dr. Norem moved to Berlin in 1948, Dr. N. M. Ylvisaker succeeded him in Baden-Baden. John Deutschlander and Justine Bodensieck also served CRALOG in Berlin. Carl Yeager succeeded Frank

Brown in Hannover, and was in turn replaced by Carl Mau who, at the time of his return to the United States in March, 1957, was serving as Field Director of all CRALOG operations in Germany. Since its first shipment in May, 1946, through December, 1956, Lutheran World Relief sent a total of 119,600,639 pounds of relief supplies to Germany, with a value of \$37,602,176.

"NAKED AND YE CLOTHED ME"

The fact that more than \$22,000,000 of this ten-year total represents direct contributions from members of Lutheran congregations reflects the seriousness with which individual Christians in the United States received the appeals of men such as Dr. Michelfelder and Dr. Scherzer. It also reflects some imaginative and determined planning and organization on the part of Lutheran leadership in America. Since 1946 a great part of this responsibility for Lutheran World Relief has been carried by Bernard A. Confer, a Lutheran layman who brought with him into the program both public welfare experience and a mature understanding of the principles of Christian stewardship.

Taking its cue from the clothing appeals which were so successfully carried out in the years following World War I, Lutheran World Relief depended from the beginning primarily upon the initiative of local congregations and their pastors for the gathering of supplies. Publicity was coordinated with that prepared by the National Lutheran Council for its Lutheran World Action appeals under the direction of Dr. Paul Empie. This meant that specially edited and prepared brochures, bulletins, and films, including information concerning the needs for food and clothing, were made available to every pastor of the Council. Pastors in turn recruited the cooperation of organizations within their congregations. As new ideas for local drives were developed, Lutheran World Relief passed them on through the monthly *Lutheran World Action Bulletin* to Lutheran congregations all over the United States. Women's groups prepared baby layettes; children assembled "Kiddies' Kits," containing crayons and writing materials, soap, toothpaste, and

chocolate; one Luther League gathered 425 articles of clothing in a "scavenger hunt" in one evening. Lutheran student groups all over the country announced their readiness to do the necessary "leg work" to gather up clothing in the congregations near their campuses. A Michigan pastor reported success in visiting a dry cleaning establishment to ask for the donation of unclaimed dresses and suits.

When in spite of these ingenious devices the supply of goods in the warehouse seemed to be dipping too low in the face of the approaching winter, Lutheran World Relief announced its first nationwide Clothing Appeal during Thanksgiving week, November 20 to 27, 1949. "Fill a boxcar," became the rallying cry of the campaign, and the response was thrilling. From a Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, pastor came the good news that he had had to engage two trucks to transport clothing which was still coming in after two boxcars had been filled and dispatched. In Minnesota the Lutheran Welfare Society headed a drive which in one month gathered 200,000 pounds. By Christmas a total of 800,000 pounds of clothing had been received at the Easton warehouse and prepared for overseas shipment. From Bishop Dibelius on Christmas Eve, 1949, came a radio message of thanks for this concrete assurance that "love and good will and readiness to help" was replacing hatred and hostility in international life.

From this time on the Thanksgiving drive became an annual feature, and in the spring of 1950 a Lenten appeal was also conducted. Lutheran World Relief offered to pay the freight on full carload shipments to Easton, and smaller amounts were sent to specially arranged collecting points at Minneapolis, Nappanee, Indiana, Seattle, San Francisco, or Los Angeles.

Year after year the members of Lutheran parishes across the country responded to these appeals, based upon the needs of people in Europe, in Palestine, in Korea, or in Hong Kong. Each year the number of loaded boxcars which converged on New York or San Francisco increased in number, till in 1953 an 88-car train, three-quarters of a mile long, would have been needed to transport the record in-gathering of 2,622,238 pounds. One might be tempted

to conclude that the Clothing Appeals simply functioned automatically, except for reports such as one which came from an area chairman in South Dakota in December, 1953. As he and his colleagues worked in the midst of a whirling blizzard to load ten tons of clothing into a boxcar, they begrudged neither time nor discomfort, because they were convinced that their offerings would benefit many who were perhaps colder than they were at the time.

BREAD CAST UPON THE WATERS

Fully as important as the gathering of clothing was the Christian Rural Overseas Program. CROP, as it was more familiarly known by the farmers who supported it, was set up in 1947 by the Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service as a joint promotional program, with each partner receiving what was contributed by his group and sharing the non-designated gifts proportionately. A year later the National Catholic Rural Life Conference asked to be included and a three-man cabinet was established, with the Reverend Carl Schaffnit as the Lutheran representative. He was replaced a short time later by Mr. Clifford Dahlin, who remained with CROP as long as the program lasted.

The purpose of this organization was to extend to all farmers, regardless of church affiliation, the opportunity to participate in a "program of sharing" on a Christian or humanitarian basis. Each participating church group named its own members to state and county CROP committees, which also included representatives of the farm organizations. Appeals were made to the farmers for contributions of various kinds of farm products and livestock. Perishable goods were normally exchanged for staples or sold for cash. Fractional carloads were also sold, and corn was usually turned over to processors who manufactured corn syrup or cereal from it.

Wheat carloads were shipped just as they came, and it seemed that this fundamental food of man carried with it a special significance to those who received it. Early in 1948 a freighter called *American Veteran* slipped up to the docks in Bremen to unload 5000 tons of wheat which had been donated by American Christians

through the CROP program. This unprocessed grain was to be turned over to the Hilfswerk, to be milled in Bremen and Mannheim and eventually to be distributed solely on the basis of need throughout Germany. As he stood on the bridge of the freighter and accepted the gift on behalf of the Evangelical Hilfswerk, Pastor Bodo Heyne pointed out this special significance. "Grain and bread are our most important means of subsistence," he said. "They are to us holy symbols of our bodily and spiritual life. When our brothers in America send us wheat, they are thus breaking bread for us, and we are, as it were, with them as their guests. Thus is your hand extended to us in the community of Christian thought and action."

In some of the states the CROP committees used promotional devices to interest the farmers in the program of sharing. Wisconsin's "Badger Train" in 1948 carried more than 130 tons of powdered milk and eggs eastward for trans-shipment abroad. Not to be outdone, other states followed suit with special trains carrying wheat or other staples. In 1951 many farmers gave the produce of designated "Friendship Acres," and a special freighter was launched from the port of Chicago carrying this "Friendship Food" to needy areas of Europe. Western farmers also responded heartily to CROP livestock projects.

Wheat gathered under the CROP appeal was shipped in the summer of 1951 to famine-ridden India by Lutheran World Relief. More than 4900 bushels were sent to the Gossner Lutheran Church, one of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation, and 40,000 bushels were dispatched jointly by the Protestant agencies cooperating in the CROP appeal. Returning Ambassador Chester A. Bowles warmly commended Lutheran World Relief for its especially timely action demonstrating that "individuals in America care about India and Indians."

Until the termination of the joint agreement in February, 1952, Lutheran World Relief had received a total of 21,250,777 pounds of supplies from CROP, valued at \$1,436,282. In addition, the cash proceeds from CROP had enabled Lutheran World Relief to ship 9,881,869 pounds of government-donated surplus commodities,

valued at \$1,114,499. Pointing out that the liquidation of the joint CROP program had been due to rising administrative costs rather than the cessation of need abroad, leaders of Lutheran World Relief promptly launched an All-Lutheran Food Appeal to replace CROP. Beginning in 1953 the Board of World Relief of the Missouri Synod also cooperated in this effort to feed the hungry. Only in January, 1956, when the United States Government decided to include wheat, corn, rice, and beans among surplus commodities it was donating to voluntary relief agencies for overseas shipment, was the ALFA program discontinued. During its three years of operation under the direction of Dr. John Scherzer and the Reverend Ove R. Nielsen, ALFA had received more than \$1,500,000 in food gifts from Lutheran farmers for overseas relief.

The efforts of Lutheran World Relief had been substantially aided by the United States Government since 1948 in two ways: through the reimbursement of overseas freight costs and through the donation of certain food stocks designated by the Government as surplus commodities. In the former instance, the United States Government viewed the private relief work of voluntary agencies as an effective complement to its program of economic aid, and therefore reimbursed agencies such as Lutheran World Relief for shipments to certain designated areas.

Beginning in 1948 shipments to France, Germany, Austria, Italy, and Trieste received such treatment, and the list was later expanded to include Yugoslavia, Korea, Formosa, Hong Kong, India, and Jordan. Each year this has meant a substantial contribution to the material relief program, particularly in recent years, when the United States Government has not only donated large amounts of surplus commodities to the voluntary relief organizations, but has transported them overseas free of charge. Since 1948 Lutheran World Relief has received a total of \$3,371,718 from the United States Government as reimbursement for freight charges.

The United Nations has also paid \$152,136 since 1951 for the cost of shipping relief clothing to the Palestinian refugees in the Near East. In the case of countries such as France and Germany, which have demonstrated increasing economic strength, the United

States Government has progressively withdrawn this assistance. Beginning on April 1, 1955, the Federal Republic of Germany has been paying the ocean freight on Lutheran World Relief shipments to its ports, as well as the cost of inland freight to major points of distribution within Germany.

In 1950 the United States Government announced that it would make available to authorized voluntary relief agencies certain supplies of surplus dairy products which it had stored in order to maintain national price levels. Although the program was suspended a little more than a year later, Lutheran World Relief received and shipped in one year more than \$2,500,000 worth of powdered eggs, milk, butter, and cheese as a supplement to its large annual shipment of privately donated food, used clothing, and medicines. The Government presently reinstated its surplus food policy, and even expanded the list of commodities to include cottonseed oil, shortening, assorted packages of foods, and finally wheat and corn. From the beginning of this program to the end of 1956, Lutheran World Relief received from the United States Government 140,221,540 pounds of these commodities, valued at \$26,757,888, and shipped them to needy people in thirteen different countries: Austria, Formosa, France, Germany, Hong Kong, India, Iraq, Italy, Japan, Jordan, Korea, Trieste, and Yugoslavia.

The only conditions laid down by the United States Government were that the food should be distributed without cost to the recipient, on the basis of greatest need, and that the receiving agencies should provide for adequate supervision to be sure that these conditions were observed. By far the largest amount went to Germany, where the facilities of the Evangelical Hilfswerk provided the most effective channel of distribution in any country of the world. Yugoslavia, Austria, Jordan, and Hong Kong also received larger amounts. Naturally, there were some administrative costs in connection with such a tremendous operation, but these were met through the annual appropriation given to Lutheran World Relief from the funds gathered through Lutheran World Action. Insofar as the surplus commodities were concerned, it was estimated that for every dollar Lutheran World Relief spent in handling and ad-

ministering, thirty dollars' worth of food reached hungry people in foreign lands. As Lutheran World Relief concluded its eleventh complete year of service on December 31, 1956, it noted that a grand total of 221,233,670 pounds of relief supplies valued at \$62,-370,473 had been shipped to twenty-eight different countries, from Finland to Formosa and from Indonesia to the Holy Land. Bread had indeed been cast upon the waters.

Lutherans in Canada had also taken seriously their responsibilities to "feed the hungry" and "clothe the naked." Just a few months after its American counterpart, Canadian Lutheran World Relief was organized in Ottawa, the capital city of Canada, on March 14, 1946. Moving quickly to establish warehouses in Winnipeg and Montreal, CLWR addressed its first appeal to congregations throughout the whole of Canada, and shortly thereafter dispatched its first shipments of food and used clothing to Germany. At Dr. Michelfelder's suggestions, the Canadians also sent money for the purchase of foods in nearby Sweden for immediate transfer to Germany. Between 1946 and 1950 Canadian Lutherans contributed \$413,933 for foodstuffs, partly in actual shipments and partly in cash contributions. More than 714,000 pounds of used clothing, blankets, and layettes were gathered in Canadian Lutheran congregations between 1946 and 1956, and sent in large part to Germany for distribution through the Evangelical Hilfswerk. However, since 1952 Canadian aid has also been directed to the Arab refugees in the Near East and to Korea.

Particularly in the earliest years of postwar need, food, clothing, medicines, and raw materials poured into Europe from all parts of the world. By no means all of the privately gathered relief goods came from church groups, but the list of seventeen countries from which the Evangelical Hilfswerk in Germany received shipments during its first three years of activity reflects a world-wide sympathy on the part of church groups with Europe's suffering. Because of the myriads of organizations and individuals who participated in this vast gesture of brotherly help, it is impossible to ascertain the origin or the destination of a large part of the gifts, but it seems clear that the largest volume of material assistance from church

groups originated in the United States, Canada, Sweden, and Switzerland. Among the Protestants the Lutherans were by far the leaders, and their gifts came from as widely-separated countries as Australia, South Africa, and Chile.

The small 33,000-member United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia reported that during the first five years after the war its members had sent \$110,000 in cash gifts for material relief in Germany, Korea, and Palestine. These funds had been used to buy blankets, food, and clothing, and had been augmented by a considerable amount of used clothing and gift parcels packed and sent by individual church members. From Australia to the Evangelical Hilfswerk in Germany alone came a total of more than one million pounds of relief supplies between 1946 and 1955.

GOOD NEIGHBORS IN THE NORTH

As a wartime neutral, Sweden was in a much better position than most other European countries to administer aid to the needy. In fact, during the Winter War of 1939-1940 private sources in Sweden gathered substantial sums for relief purposes in Finland. As soon as World War II was over, additional funds for relief purposes were sent into both Finland and Norway by the Swedish Section of the Lutheran World Convention and by a church relief organ known as Till Bröders Hjälp. Holland, Austria, and Germany received cash gifts for emergency food and clothing. Following a visit in the ravaged Mazurian area of Poland by Pastor Daniel Cederberg, the Swedish Section initiated a special collection to relieve the conditions of near-starvation which he found there. Three hundred food parcels were sent to Austria by a group in Stockholm, and through the mediation of the Danish Section of the Lutheran World Convention in Copenhagen \$3500 in food parcels were directed to Hungary.

Material relief, both in cash and in goods, continued to flow from Swedish sources to needy areas in Europe and later to both the Near East and the Far East through a variety of channels. The Swedish Government sponsored a program called Svenska Europa-

hjälp (Swedish Aid to Europe), which called upon individuals for relief contributions. Both bishops and church organizations gave active support to the appeals of Svenska Europahjälpen by providing leadership for about 60 percent of the collecting groups. During the period from 1947 to 1951 this organization collected \$11,159,096 in cash and 28,160,000 pounds of food and clothing, valued at more than \$15,000,000, or a total of \$26,459,609.

Several distinctively church-oriented organizations also conducted independent relief appeals and collected both money and goods. Local chapters of the historic Gustav Adolf Society, in Gothenburg, Stockholm, and Lund, and the Swedish National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation had been in existence before the war and were prepared to participate in relief efforts at the earliest possible moment. Others, such as Kommittén för Kristen Efterkrigshjälp (Committee for Christian Postwar Relief), Kommittén för Efterkrigshjälp (Committee for Postwar Relief), and the West Coast Fish Collection, were established following the end of the war. These latter organizations, largely local in character, contributed \$1,541,570 in cash and relief supplies in the four years following 1947. At the same time an independent relief organization supported by the free churches in Sweden and called the Inner European Mission contributed \$6,427,859 to its various relief projects on the continent.

It is impossible to enumerate all of the organized humanitarian efforts which sprang up in Sweden after the war, each motivated by compassion for people in need. One of the most colorful was an organization known as Hjälpkommittén för Tysklands Barn (Committee for Aid to German Children), led by Countess Lily Hamilton. Though not a church organization, this committee became the channel through which the first relief shipments from Lutherans in Chile, Argentina, and South Africa gained access to Germany. Unable to ship directly to German ports in 1945, Pastor Friedrich Karle of Santiago, Chile, secured the aid of this Swedish committee, and for six years thereafter a steady stream of honey, oatmeal, rice, peas, and beans flowed into Germany by way of the Swedish port of Gothenburg. From Argentina came fats and oils and used clothing,

and from South Africa the German-African Aid Committee (DAHA) shipped valuable cargoes of raw caracul wool. The cost of transshipping the goods from Gothenburg to Lübeck, where they were turned over to the Hilfswerk of the Evangelical Church in Germany, was paid by the Swedish committee. In view of the fact that these indirect shipments continued for six years, until the fall of 1951, these payments amounted to a substantial sum.

At a time when shortages of both food and clothing still existed in Norway, and when gift packages from America and Canada were still being welcomed in many parts of the country, organized Norwegian relief efforts for central Europe had already begun. One of the first appeals came in the fall of 1947, when the Norwegian Europahjelpen called upon the people for funds to support a child-and-student-feeding program in the French Zone of Germany, aimed at reaching 16,000 undernourished children and youth with health-building rations of cod-liver oil and one substantial warm meal per week. Just a few weeks later, in November, the first general letter to pastors and congregations went out from Kirkens Nödhjelp, the newly-formed Church Committee for Emergency Aid, which owed its beginning at least in part to the stimulation of the historic Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation held shortly before at Lund, Sweden.

The initial response to this letter brought in more than \$43,000, which was divided between the supplementary feeding program of the Europahjelpen and the children's aid program of the United Nations. In the following fall Kirkens Nödhjelp launched an independent appeal through nine diocesan committees throughout Norway, each headed by a bishop, with representation from the congregational councils. Eight pastors and secretaries traveled throughout the country; printed material explaining the needs was sent to each parish; the cooperation of the local press was enlisted; and a special film was made available for use in congregational meetings. The results were astonishing. More than \$77,000 was given in the congregations, and eight and one-half tons of used clothing were dispatched to Germany to be distributed through the Evangelical Hilfswerk. When Andreas Grasmø, who had led the campaign,

presented his report in January, 1949, he wrote, "It has been a great joy for us to undertake this work as an expression of Christian love to our neighbors."

As the most acute needs in Germany passed, Kirkens Nødhjelp directed its assistance more specifically to refugee programs, aiding in the construction of twenty-five centers in Germany and in Austria between 1949 and 1953, and then following up these gifts with many tons of used clothing and shoes and the ever-valuable barrels of cod-liver oil. A special collection in 1953 brought more than 400,000 pounds for West Berlin alone, where the refugee center called Scandiaheim has been consistently staffed by Norwegian personnel paid by Kirkens Nødhjelp. Individual packages of food and clothing have been sent regularly to 7,500 individuals and families whose addresses had been assembled by the energetic leaders of Kirkens Nødhjelp. Since 1951, in cooperation with the YMCA, West German refugee children have been transported to Norway for vacations, and similar opportunities for Austrian youngsters have been provided through the Lutheran World Federation.

The material relief program of the Norwegian Lutherans has reached far beyond central Europe. Flood victims in the Po Valley of northern Italy were aided in February, 1953. An attractive brochure entitled "Is It Really True?" circulated in 40,000 copies in the spring of 1954, told the story of needs in Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon, and brought both a generous cash response and a shipment of seventeen tons of clothing to be distributed among the Arab refugees. Hong Kong was also included in 1954.

The ten years of Kirkens Nødhjelp in Norway have been a fine demonstration of the original intention of its founders to distribute material assistance in the name of Christ to needy persons without regard to race, nationality, or political persuasions. There has been an imaginative effort on the part of the leadership to enlist the support of individuals and of congregations in Norway through organization and publicity. Press, film, and the spoken word have been effectively utilized, and the result has been an informed and enthusiastic participation in the church's program and a total contribution of almost \$500,000. Itself a victim of war and occupation,

Norway has been able to bring healing and strength and a witness to the love of Christ to thousands of needy in both Europe and Asia.

SELF-HELP THROUGH HILFSWERK

In recounting the story and the statistics of this world-wide Good Samaritan venture by the churches of the world it is easy to create the mistaken notion that the receiving churches either were not able or did not take steps to help themselves. Nothing could be further from the truth. Our main concern in these pages has been the interchurch aspect of this vast program of brotherly help, but within each of the countries to which aid was sent the Christians were also being called upon to help their nearest neighbors.

Thus, even during the first three bitter years following the end of the war, the Evangelical Hilfswerk in Germany gathered and distributed just as much food and clothing and medicine from local sources in Germany as it received from churches in foreign countries. As early as 1945 pastors and church members in Württemberg were making house-to-house visitations, pulling their little hand-wagons and filling baskets with gifts of food and clothing from their own people to be distributed through Hilfswerk in areas of greater need. At the same time more than 180,000,000 Reichsmarks were being gathered among the congregations. Dr. Eugen Gerstenmaier, founder of the Hilfswerk, repeatedly stressed the fact that this emergency service of the church must stand or fall upon the living faith of the congregations and their readiness to express that faith in acts of love to their fellowmen. In August, 1945, at the very depth of the need in Germany, Bishop Theophil Wurm, the first president of the Hilfswerk, issued a "Manifesto of Christian Love," wherein he called upon the Protestant Christians of Germany to respond to the need in their own midst. "Hunger knocks at our doors," he wrote. "Disaster strides through houses and cities. Homeless, friendless, and despairing people are calling for help. . . . Lazarus lies at the door!"

Into the individual congregations went the Manifesto from the Bishop, eloquent in its appeal to the fundamental impulses of Christian charity. External difficulties would have to be overcome, he warned, but even more serious would be the inner spiritual inertia. "Unbelief encases our souls in pride and says to us: Keep what little you have. Giving will make you poor! But Christ tells us: God is rich! Whoever devotes himself to the service of God's love will participate in His blessing. Therefore thrust out of your souls the fear that parting from some precious possession may leave you impoverished. He that has faith shall not be disappointed. And he that possesses little can nevertheless do much. Our Lord Jesus Christ has said: 'Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily, I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.' A cheerful giver is a blessed man. Therefore let us take up our work, believing, praying, and sacrificing!"

Not only were the gifts from German congregations and from churches overseas distributed directly to needy people in the parishes and in the institutions of the Inner Mission, but the Hilfswerk undertook in 1946 an ambitious and imaginative program of self-help involving the use of raw materials shipped into Germany. A combination of circumstances made this idea especially attractive. That there was a tremendous need of blankets and clothing, bed linens, shoes, and certain processed foodstuffs was beyond question. Facilities did exist in Germany for the manufacture of many of these items, but the lack of raw materials due to the collapse of foreign trade made it impossible for these small factories to operate. Workers, in large part returning soldiers, remained unemployed, and needs remained unfulfilled. As early as 1945 alert leaders of the Hilfswerk suggested to friends abroad that they would welcome shipments of raw cotton, raw leather, raw wool, or cellulose, which they would then turn over to processors in Germany to be made into bed sheets, shoes, blankets, and paper for books.

The first actual effort to combine foreign aid with self-help in this way came in 1946 when the American churches offered to send more than one million Bibles and hymnbooks to Germany as part

of an interchurch aid effort. Hilfswerk asked whether it would be possible, instead of finished books, to send the cellulose, which would then be processed into paper and eventually printed in German publishing houses. In this way not only could the number of Bibles and hymnbooks be multiplied, but other devotional and instructional materials could also be provided. Hilfswerk estimated that the cellulose needed for the printing of 100,000 books for school children would cost about the same on the world market as to print 5,000 complete books in America. Church gifts could thus be increased in value twenty times.

At the close of 1946 the first carload of raw cotton arrived at the main railway station in Stuttgart, consigned to the Evangelical Hilfswerk as a gift from the Hilfswerk of the Church of Switzerland. On the day following a very much surprised textile factory owner in Württemberg received a request from a Hilfswerk representative concerning the arrangements he could make to manufacture this carload of cotton into bed sheets for the institutions of the Inner Mission. This marked the beginning of a long series of commercial transactions which aided the recovery of German small industry, provided employment for many German workers, supplied critical physical and spiritual needs both for individuals and for institutions of mercy, and at the same time multiplied the actual cash value of foreign gifts.

It would be impossible to detail even a small part of these operations, but shipments of wool from South Africa and Switzerland were turned into pastors' robes, men's suits and socks, deaconess garbs, blankets, and yard goods. Cotton from America reappeared as bed sheets, baby diapers, bandages, clothing, and curtains. Wheat was milled into flour. Argentinian hides became shoes for deaconesses and pastors. Eleven million books were printed from cellulose gifts from America, Sweden, and elsewhere. A grant from the Missouri Synod was multiplied ten-fold in value, and at the same time helped to provide the tungsten filaments badly needed by German factories to meet the shortage of electric light bulbs.

In the handling of this huge volume of emergency aid the Hilfswerk operated through a far-reaching system of offices and local

distribution centers, which included every parsonage and parish house in Germany. Caseworkers both of the Hilfswerk and the Inner Mission dealt with the most serious cases of physical need, and every pastor was regarded as a local representative.

For more than a hundred years the well-established institutional ministry of the Inner Mission, originating with the work of Johan Hinrich Wichern in Hamburg, had been carried on, maintaining hundreds of hospitals, children's homes, old people's homes, and schools throughout Germany. Naturally the burden placed upon these institutions, many of which had been severely damaged or destroyed by bombs, was greatly increased by the general poverty and acute need of the German people as a whole, and much of the material assistance which the Hilfswerk was able to gather from abroad was dispensed through their facilities. In the early postwar years more than 2700 such institutions were provided with bed linens, blankets, mattresses, kitchen equipment, tables and chairs, and other necessities, through the Hilfswerk.

The care and feeding of children were likewise primary necessities in the early years after 1945. A survey conducted by the Hilfswerk in 1946 indicated that about twelve million of the fifteen million children in Germany were suffering from undernourishment. For this reason about 50 percent of all the foreign food gifts at this time were directed into child-feeding programs, and Hilfswerk was thus enabled to provide regular supplementary feedings for three million children from 1946 to 1948. In addition, foreign church groups, such as the La Plata Synod with headquarters in Buenos Aires, and the German-African Aid Committee in South Africa, undertook to sponsor individual children's homes or to send individual packages on the basis of lists provided by the Hilfswerk.

Special supplementary feeding programs were arranged by the Hilfswerk in the many youth camps sponsored by the YMCA, the Evangelical Youth, and other organizations seeking to minister to the confused and disillusioned younger generation in Germany. University students likewise often lived under the most primitive conditions in the first months after the courses of study were resumed, and for both of these groups foreign churches made special

grants of money and food to enable Hilfswerk to establish supplementary rations. Fourteen thousand students in eighty-nine universities and institutions of higher learning were thus aided in 1948 alone, and more than 500,000 young people in 10,000 summer youth camps participated in feeding programs of the Hilfswerk between 1946 and 1948.

Although the economic recovery following the currency reform of 1948 made it possible gradually to overcome the most critical needs among the population of western Germany, certain sub-standard areas still remained, particularly among the large groups of refugees in Bavaria and Schleswig-Holstein. The Russian Zone remained in a critical condition for a much longer time, but with a few minor exceptions, government authorities there permitted no bulk relief shipments whatever to enter. Nevertheless a lively traffic of individual packages from family to family, from pastor to pastor, or from person to person has continued even to the present time, in one of the finest manifestations of Christian perseverance and solidarity of the entire postwar period. Even beyond its important role in supporting the physical endurance of the East Zone people, this action has cemented a spiritual unity between the churches of East and West Germany that has been able to defy every political effort at separation.

West Germany and West Berlin have continued to receive material aid from abroad, largely on the ground that although the general prosperity of the country was rising rapidly, need still prevailed among a refugee population which was being augmented at the astonishing and consistent rate of 700-800 persons per day. Most of these refugees make their way to the West by way of Berlin, and few would question the special situation of need existing there, but the shipments to western Germany may be expected to taper off sharply and discontinue completely within the near future.

Oddly enough, the volume of relief shipments being received currently by the Evangelical Hilfswerk from overseas sources is higher than in any of the earlier years of postwar crisis. The reason for this is that since 1950 the United States Government has been

making increasingly large amounts of surplus food commodities available to authorized American voluntary relief agencies without cost, stipulating only that they be distributed to areas of need.

Two factors have influenced Lutheran World Relief to maintain its large volume of shipments to Germany. Since the commodities are available, Lutheran World Relief has felt they should be used for a good purpose. German distribution channels are the most effective of any in the world, and the German church welfare agencies have annually requested Lutheran World Relief and Church World Service to send large amounts. A special program has been worked out in Germany whereby many of the institutions of the Inner Mission receive these surplus commodities from the Hilfswerk and make use of the milk, the cheese, and the oils to enrich the diets offered to their residents. This plan has been approved by the United States Government, on condition that its foods are not exchanged for money and that they do not replace other foods being used by the institutions. Although it is true that there are great numbers of refugees residing in these institutions of the Inner Mission, it seems clear that the institutional aid program of Lutheran World Relief and Hilfswerk is no longer of an emergency character, but is rather a cooperative church-government program for the improvement of health standards among the residents of Inner Mission institutions in Germany. In 1956 this represented a subsidy of almost five million dollars to the German church agencies through Lutheran World Relief alone, but at best only a very obscure contribution to the development of Christian stewardship in either American or German Lutheran churches.

STRENGTHENING THE MINORITY CHURCHES

During the years since 1945 the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation and their agencies have shipped relief supplies to every European country where privation existed and where political conditions have permitted outside aid. Even when the amounts have not been large, they have always carried with them an assurance of brotherly love and concern. One of the first ship-

ments of any kind from Lutheran World Relief in New York in 1946 was directed to Holland, and when the storms of 1953 smashed the dikes along the Zeeland coast and inundated dozens of Dutch towns and thousands of acres of land, emergency supplies to aid the homeless were rushed to stricken areas. One of the first formal gestures of outside aid to be made by the Lutheran churches of Germany after the war came in response to the needs of these flood-stricken communities. Beds and mattresses and cash gifts amounting to DM 40,000 were sent by the newly-formed German Committee for Lutheran World Service.

The small and scattered Lutheran church of Austria, numbering about 400,000 people and struggling to minister to the needs of about 70,000 additional Lutheran refugees who came from eastern Europe, has also received considerable amounts of material aid from Scandinavia and from America. Up to the end of 1956 more than 16,000,000 pounds of food, clothing, and supplies valued at more than \$5,500,000 had been received by the Austrian Hilfswerk for general distribution. For several years the Lutheran World Federation's Service to Refugees operated summer camps for underprivileged children in Austria, to which Norway made generous contributions, both of leadership personnel and crucial shipments of cod-liver oil and supplementary food. Not only did these gifts to Austria save many lives during the critical postwar years, but they gave a much-needed moral and spiritual support to a minority Lutheran church struggling to maintain its identity in the face of an overwhelming Roman Catholic majority.

The Lutheran churches of Italy and France also received material assistance in addition to financial aid for the strengthening of their congregational programs. Food and clothing distributed through Lutheran channels supplied some of the special needs of refugees in Trieste during their long months of waiting for resettlement.

Shipments to the countries of eastern Europe have been limited and in many cases rendered impossible by political conditions. Poland and Hungary were under Communist control virtually from the end of the war in 1945, but it was still possible for several years to send in relief supplies from the United States, Norway, and

Sweden. Czecho-Slovakia received shipments of food and clothing valued at \$125,000 from Lutheran World Relief before the Communist coup of February, 1948, led to increased restrictions and finally closed the doors to further aid in 1949. After the unjustified arrest and imprisonment of Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass by the Communist authorities in Budapest in 1948, and his deposition by a subservient church organization, all formal aid through the Lutheran World Federation to Hungary was discontinued.

In 1951 further relief shipments to Lutherans in Poland were cut off by action of the Polish Government. Thereafter to both of these countries as well as to Yugoslavia only a meager flow of individual parcels was continued. However, from within Germany a special Committee for Eastern Churches stimulated and directed a more extensive package program, both for the material and the spiritual strengthening of brethren in the faith in practically every country behind the iron curtain.

The peculiar political development in Yugoslavia in 1948, following Marshal Tito's break with the Kremlin, opened unexpected channels for material assistance to the 150,000 Lutherans scattered throughout this land. Some assistance had been possible even before this through the diligence of a Croatian Lutheran pastor on the staff of the National Lutheran Council in New York, the Reverend Louis Sanjek, who gathered the addresses of all the pastors in Yugoslavia and supplied them with packages from the stocks of Lutheran World Relief. During the seven years from 1946 to 1953 Pastor Sanjek personally supervised the packing and mailing of more than 2700 such gift parcels, many of which contained medicines otherwise unavailable in Yugoslavia.

Because of the critical situation following a drought in 1950, Lutheran World Relief was permitted to send in its first large bulk shipment of relief supplies. The following year, with certain areas so hard hit that they had neither corn nor wheat for seed, the Yugoslavian government even offered to pay overseas freight charges, and Lutheran World Relief responded with large quantities of Government-donated surplus foods. Disaster struck again in December, 1952. Following a second drought, hail and floods ravaged

Bosnia and Serbia, destroying 5000 houses and causing \$8,400,000 damage. Thousands of people lost everything they had, and the scarcity of food and clothing became critical. It was, moreover, practically impossible to buy clothing at inflated prices, which required a half-month's salary to pay for a pair of shoes and well over a month's salary for a man's suit.

Even in the face of these disasters the Government of Yugoslavia made it very difficult for those who wanted to help. Exorbitant duties were charged on gift parcels, charges of unfair distribution of relief supplies were directed at the church officials, and finally the churches were prohibited from engaging in any relief activities whatever. The result was that a special delegation from Lutheran World Relief visited Yugoslavia and discussed the problem personally with Marshal Tito. Agreement was reached that supplies entering Yugoslavia should be received and distributed by the National Red Cross, according to greatest need, but in areas in which there were larger concentrations of Lutheran population. Each successive year thereafter sizable relief shipments have gone to Yugoslavia, totaling more than \$6,500,000 by the end of 1956

BEYOND THE HOUSEHOLD OF FAITH

Lutheran shipments of material relief supplies since 1945 have by no means been limited to Europe, although by far the largest amounts have been sent to supply the needs there. It is not our purpose here to calculate the material and financial support that has flowed from individual mission boards and societies to the various Lutheran mission fields in Asia, Africa, and South America. But with the close cooperation of the Department of World Service in Geneva, emergency material relief supplies have been sent by Lutheran churches and agencies to Japan, Korea, India, Palestine, Formosa, Hong Kong, and Indonesia. Lutheran World Relief has been a member of LARA, an organization similar to CRALOG, which has facilitated its shipments to Japan. As one of the Licensed Agencies for Relief in Asia, Lutheran World Relief has been able to ship supplies to Japan, and the American Government has paid

the cost of overseas freight. Canned baby foods, powdered milk, used clothing, and bedding—valued at \$600,000—have been sent by Lutheran World Relief for distribution in nurseries, hospitals, children's homes, and schools.

Wheat was sent to famine-stricken India in 1951. Tons of food and clothing were rushed from Lutheran World Federation's Near East offices in Jerusalem and Beirut when a half-million people were left homeless in 1954 by the swollen tides of the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers in Iraq. Under the supervision of an Arab Christian, these gifts were distributed in Baghdad simply as an act of Christian charity to people in need. Officials of the Iraq government expressed their gratitude both in personal letters and in radio broadcasts.

In the wake of the tragedy of Korea in 1950-51 aid began to flow into that devastated country. Since there were no Lutheran agencies in Korea, Lutheran World Relief shipments were distributed by Korea Church World Service, an agency related to the National Christian Council of Korea, and also through United Nations channels. As in the case of Japan, the United States Government reimbursed Lutheran World Relief for overseas freight costs. In 1955 Lutheran World Relief sent its own representative, the Rev. James Claypool, to Korea as a member of the staff of Korea Church World Service to supervise what, by the end of 1956, had become a \$3,360,000 relief operation.

As the only remaining non-Communist foothold on the China mainland coast, the British Crown Colony of Hong Kong, has become a congested haven for refugees. Embracing in 1950 a population of 2,360,000 people within its scant 391 square miles of territory, this city has sought to find additional room for more than 700,000 Chinese refugees. For several years the Lutheran World Federation cooperated with the World Council of Churches in an effort to resettle European refugees from Hong Kong, but in 1954, under the leadership of Karl Ludwig Stumpf, a German national formerly of Shanghai, the Federation's Department of World Service launched a vigorous medical aid and material relief program for the Chinese refugees. Many of these people are living in rude

shelters built of scrap metal or packing boxes or, if less fortunate, under bridges, on rooftops, or simply in the alleys and gutters. It is the hope of Mr. Stumpf that ten thousand refugees may be helped by this new medical program. Artificial limbs, dentures, and spectacles have been provided to many needy patients, and emergency treatments to hundreds of others. Shipments of food and clothing from several member churches of the Lutheran World Federation have already bolstered the substantial cash contributions being made through the Department of World Service.

One of the needy areas of the world which has most fired the imaginations of Lutheran people has been the land of Palestine. Since the early nineteenth century German Lutheran mission societies have been at work in Jerusalem and Bethlehem, and by the time the second World War broke out they had built churches, schools, and orphanages which were among the finest institutions in the Holy Land. The graceful tower of the Lutheran Church of the Redeemer, just a few steps away from the tomb of our Lord, dominates the entire skyline of the Holy City, while on the shoulder of the Mount of Olives rises the massive bulk of the Augusta Victoria Hospital, built originally as a church hospice by the German Kaiser.

Not far away, but at present virtually inaccessible from Jordanian territory, are the imposing buildings of the Syrian Orphanage, built by the famous German missionaries, Johann and Theodor Schneller. Valued at several millions of dollars, these buildings were taken over by the Government of Israel to be used as military installations, shortly after the truce of 1948 partitioned the Holy Land between the newly-formed Israeli state and the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan. Officials of the Lutheran World Federation, acting as trustees for the German mission properties, did all they could to save these buildings, but succeeded only in securing a partial indemnity for them from the Israeli Government. On the Jordanian side, however, they were able to preserve the entire complex of institutions and properties in Lutheran hands.

Dr. Edwin Moll, the Near East representative of the Lutheran World Federation, remained in Jerusalem throughout the civil war

which preceded the partition of Palestine. To his fearless and determined efforts belongs a great deal of the credit for the retention of the mission properties of the Holy Land, and also for the inauguration of the extensive program of material relief among the Arab refugees after the war.

When the new Israeli Government was established, about 900,000 Arabs fled into the neighboring Arab countries of Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and the Gaza Strip. Four hundred fifty thousand of them crowded into the barren hills and fields of Jordan, where they found refuge in mud huts and caves and such tents as the United Nations could make available to them. In a land already impoverished and lacking in economic opportunity, these refugees simply became public charges. The same situation prevailed in Lebanon, Syria, and Gaza, where the United Nations established vast camps of tents and huts and supplied the refugees with a subsistence ration of 1500 calories per day.

It was among these Arabs in Jordan that Dr. Moll launched an emergency relief program in 1948. Appealing to his fellow Lutherans solely on the basis of Christian compassion for needy human beings, he asked for shipments of food and clothing and medical supplies. The United Nations, which was underwriting the operation of the 385-bed Augusta Victoria Hospital for Arab refugees, asked the Lutheran World Federation to assume responsibility for it and promised a monthly subsidy of \$15,000. This hospital, with its staff of eleven doctors and 130 nurses, is now the largest hospital in western Asia, and in 1955 admitted 11,300 patients. In addition, the Lutheran World Federation medical staff treated more than 100,000 patients in its six polyclinics in and about Jerusalem.

More than \$6,000,000 in cash and in relief supplies have been spent for the Lutheran World Federation work among refugees in Jordan since 1948, and more than two million pieces of clothing have been distributed. Mr. Chris Christiansen, a Dane, who succeeded Dr. Moll as director of Lutheran World Federation work in the Near East, estimated that every single refugee in Jordan has at some time or other received a gift of clothing from Lutheran World Federation. Twelve milk centers are maintained in the vil-

lages along the Israel-Jordan border, where approximately 18,000 people receive a daily ration of fluid milk. Lutheran World Federation operates soup kitchens in several towns, and in addition aids both Orthodox and Moslem relief stations with regular food donations. About 85 to 90 percent of all who receive aid from the Lutheran World Federation in Jordan are of the Moslem faith.

Ever since 1948 this Good Samaritan ministry, as well as the similar one in Syria which began in 1952, has been receiving increasing support from the member churches of Lutheran World Federation. Lutheran World Relief sent its first shipment in 1948 and has continued every year, with a total of almost \$5,000,000 worth of supplies having been sent by the end of 1955. The United States Government pays for the ocean freight on some surplus foods, and the United Nations covers the cost of clothing shipments. Norway has responded with large shipments of food and clothing and cod-liver oil. Denmark has felt a special responsibility, with one of its own men in charge of the operation and another Dane in charge of the Augusta Victoria Hospital, and has shipped all kinds of relief goods. Australia, Canada, Sweden, and the Lutheran churches of Germany have made the Arab refugee a regular part of their world service programs.

In the midst of one of the troubled regions of the world, where far more selfishness than love has been displayed by representatives of countries of Christian tradition, the witness of simple Christian compassion for human suffering has made a profound impression upon formerly hostile hearts. "We have saved many, many lives," wrote Dr. Moll in 1949. "We have relieved so infinitely much suffering and misery—and we are doing it always in His beloved name and for His sake. Some day some one will reap the harvest of the seeds we now sow."

This is the basic motivation in the entire program of material and physical relief which has been carried on by the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. There is no doubt that it has performed a variety of other functions. It has been a powerful factor in strengthening the Lutheran churches of the world, both through the gathering and the using of the gifts. It has been

the means of spreading valuable information concerning other lands and other peoples. In this way it has promoted international understanding and good will. But all of these have been by-products. The main purpose has been the meeting of human need with sincere Christian compassion born of gratitude to Him who commended His love toward us in that while we were yet His enemies He died for us.

Rebuilding the Walls of Zion

When the curtain of war clanked down upon Europe in September, 1939, only a few fields of world Lutheran activity were left intact. The Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention maintained a nominal existence, but did not meet again till 1946. The Executive Secretary, Dr. Lilje, was soon enmeshed in the bitter local struggle against National Socialism in Germany which eventually brought him into prison. The Central Section of the Lutheran World Convention, in which the German churches were the leading group, was paralyzed by the same forces. The Northern Section went into eclipse as both Norway and Denmark were overrun by hostile armies. Only the American and the Swedish Sections remained, together with a few other scattered groups in various parts of the world, to carry on inter-Lutheran cooperation and aid.

Even before the outbreak of war there had been refugees streaming from central Europe to all parts of the world. Lutheran Christians of Jewish blood and others who had resisted the rise of totalitarianism found a haven in Scandinavia, North America, and elsewhere. The Winter War between Russia and Finland in 1939-40 was the stimulus to a splendid relief action by Scandinavian and American Lutherans on behalf of their Finnish brethren. The Na-

tional Lutheran Council in 1943 for the first time placed an item of \$15,000 on its Lutheran World Action budget for the care of prisoners of war. A special Lutheran Commission, including representation from the Missouri Synod, was established, with Dr. S. C. Michelfelder as chairman, which arranged church services in camps, conducted either by German-speaking American chaplains and pastors, or by the one hundred German pastors who themselves were prisoners of war in the United States.

The Reverend Louis Sanjek directed the work of a Lutheran Book Depository in New York which continued to operate until 1950. In its seven years of activity this office sent more than one million volumes of religious and theological literature to 410 different camps in nine countries. In one camp in Egypt a theological seminary was established with the help of these books, and several candidates of theology were prepared for assignment in German churches immediately following their discharge from camp.

By far the largest and most far-reaching expression of world Lutheran cooperation during the war years was the joint support of the thirty-eight Lutheran mission fields which were cut off from their home societies in Germany, Finland, Denmark, and Norway. More than two thousand missionaries were at work on these fields in China, New Guinea, India, Palestine, Madagascar, Tanganyika, Sudan, Nigeria, South and Southwest Africa, and Sumatra, and over a million members were counted within the mission churches. By virtue of their favorable situation churches in Sweden, the United States, Australia, and Canada were able to take the lead in providing regular support for these Lutheran outposts. Dr. Ralph Long arranged an agreement that the National Lutheran Council, together with the Church of Sweden, would undertake responsibility for all Lutheran orphaned missions of the world if the International Missionary Council would care for the rest. From 1940 to 1950 more than \$8,000,000 was contributed by Lutheran churches throughout the world in answer to this modern Macedonian call.

As is so often true in God's economy, the church reaped unexpected blessings through its honest effort to face a crisis. The mission fields were saved, and at the same time a process of maturing took

place which resulted in the formation of a whole new group of self-determining Lutheran churches in Africa and Asia. These churches, closely identified from the beginning with world Lutheranism, have both broadened the base of the Lutheran World Federation and are constantly adding distinctive contributions to the witness of the Lutheran church in the modern world.

THE CROSS AND THE ARM: LUTHERAN WORLD ACTION

In the fall of 1940, when the scope and devastation of World War II had become tragically clear to everyone, Dr. Ralph Long, Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council, summoned a group of churchmen together in Chicago to begin laying plans for large-scale relief operations. In his keynote address to the assembly, Dr. Lars W. Boe, member of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Convention, observed prophetically that while the relief of missions was at that moment the burning necessity, there would come later the even greater task of rehabilitating the war-torn lands and their churches.

As a result of this meeting the National Lutheran Council launched an organized appeal for money which it called Lutheran World Action and which became an annual feature of American Lutheran church life during the war years. Largely through the work of Dr. Ralph Long, and of Dr. Paul Empie, who served the National Lutheran Council on a part-time basis in 1940, organization and techniques were developed through which more than \$6,500,000 were to be contributed in six years.

Meanwhile the Lutheran churches of North America were summoned to face other stern responsibilities as their own nations were drawn into the world conflict. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor, thousands of Lutheran young men and women entered military service, and the church determined to follow them with the ministry of the Gospel. Funds for this purpose, as well as for the support of orphaned missions, were given through the voluntary contributions of individual church members.

In this way the preparations were made so that when the war was over, Lutheran World Action could simply be expanded to include European church reconstruction and relief. The sums needed for this task were far greater, but the leadership, the experience, and the methods of reaching the congregations had already proved themselves. Dr. Long's hope, so often repeated, that we "ought to be prepared well in advance to meet . . . promptly" the needs which should face us at the end of the war, was effectively fulfilled. By the end of 1944, the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention had even been equipped with a \$200,000 reserve fund to begin its task of spiritual reconstruction.

With this capital at his disposal, Dr. S. C. Michelfelder set out for Geneva in July, 1945, as the Commissioner of the American Section. His task was to survey the needs of the Lutheran churches in Europe and to coordinate American Lutheran activities with those of the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches. Neither he nor the leaders of the World Council nor the members of the American team which had visited Stockholm, London, and Geneva in February, 1945, had any idea that simple material and physical relief of suffering people would be thrust upon the churches as their first responsibility. This they had assumed would be handled by international or by governmental agencies.

For this reason the greeting from the National Lutheran Council which was carried by Dr. P. O. Bersell to the Relief Committee of the Lutheran World Convention in January, 1946, made no mention of the physical suffering of the people in Europe, but referred instead to the "love-gift" about to be gathered by the eight member churches of the National Lutheran Council "for the upbuilding of the Lutheran Church of the world." "Our sole request," declared the message, "is that all the far-flung churches of the Augsburg Confession will join with us in a firm resolution to preserve the heritage of our Lutheran faith from many cross-currents which confuse. Let us strive together to tighten the bonds which link us as one fellowship in the Lutheran World Convention."

At the same time a committee of the Council, reporting in Chi-

cago, spoke eloquently concerning the motivations of the impending appeal for ten million dollars, but left no doubt that the main concern was the spiritual reconstruction of the churches in Europe. "We do pledge that we shall come to the succor of our brethren in the faith in the war-ravaged countries where churches have been destroyed and . . . where the church and worship life has been weakened or paralyzed. . . . We will send our emissaries to the ends of the earth, laden with our gifts of love, to hearten the weak, to cheer the despairing, to strengthen the Gospel ministry, upborne by our prayers that the church life and activities may be restored and the word of God have free course."

Lutheran World Action, the instrument through which this appeal was to be made to the congregations of the United States and Canada, has become in the meanwhile virtually a household word. Under the symbols of the Cross and the Arm it has brought the needs of world Lutheranism before the eyes of people in North America so successfully that far more is known of it among the congregations than is known of either the National Lutheran Council or the Lutheran World Federation.

Through the course of years after 1940 a general pattern evolved, according to which the giving strength of the American Lutheran parishes was mobilized. Each year a goal was set in advance by the National Lutheran Council. Within this goal each of the special causes, such as orphaned missions, European church reconstruction, ministry to service men, and refugee resettlement, was allocated a certain amount of money. On the basis of the size of its membership, each of the participating bodies of the Council was then assigned a proportionate share of the total goal. The Council provided the necessary information and the promotional materials, but each church and subdivision of a church appointed its own director of Lutheran World Action to cooperate with the National Lutheran Council staff in promoting the appeal. Most Lutheran World Action gifts were placed in offering envelopes at the worship services of local congregations.

In addition to providing the stimulus for the gathering of large sums of money for the special missions of the churches both at

home and overseas, Lutheran World Action has been the means of spreading volumes of valuable information concerning the churches and peoples of the world. This task has been achieved through the use of every possible means of publicity and education and promotion.

The campaign to raise ten million dollars during 1946-47 was opened with a series of promotional planning meetings held in twenty strategic centers in the United States and Canada, where well-informed leaders gave suggestions as to how best to conduct the appeals in the congregations. Each participating church was asked to appoint promotional directors on the synodical level as well as directors for each district, conference, or circuit. To each one of these seven hundred persons the National Lutheran Council supplied a special monthly bulletin. Key persons in every campaign were the pastors themselves, and in order to keep them in touch with fast-moving developments in the areas of need, a special pastors' bulletin was mailed to 8500 pastors every month.

A colorful handbook, intriguingly titled "Atoning Power for the Atomic Age," containing essential information on every project, was printed in more than a million copies and spread throughout the congregations. Every Lutheran church paper was bombarded with news and feature stories from the News Bureau of the National Lutheran Council. Two and one-half million pamphlets were distributed to Sunday school children, together with literally hundreds of thousands of offering envelopes. A forty-minute sound film called "The Good Fight," the first of a long and distinguished Lutheran World Action series, was produced at a cost of \$30,000. Visual aid distribution centers were established in eleven cities in the United States and Canada in order to bring films and filmstrips and radio transcriptions within easy reach of the congregations which would use them. In 1946 alone sixty selected speakers addressed 447 Lutheran World Action rallies throughout the country, featuring in many instances firsthand accounts of the conditions in the countries and churches overseas.

Each year thereafter this kind of a publicity campaign was undertaken by the National Lutheran Council, though not with the

comprehensiveness of the Ten-Million-Dollar-Appeal. Every year, however, the quotas have been set, the directors appointed, the bulletins sent out, new promotional materials and films prepared, and speakers scheduled. The result has been a seventeen-year total, through 1956, of \$46,387,048 in cash and \$62,370,473 in contributed goods, gathered through Lutheran World Action and Lutheran World Relief by the seven million Lutherans in the United States and Canada.*

There is no doubt that much of the success of these appeals has come about through well-organized promotion. Lutheran World Action has operated on the theory that in order to raise money, it is also necessary to spend money. Promotional costs since 1946 have been about 5½ percent of the total. However, if the educational contribution of these campaigns to every Lutheran congregation in North America is taken into account, the expenditures for money-raising alone are inconsiderable. Nor has sheer organization been the strength of these appeals. In every case they have been motivated by an honest recognition of Christian responsibility toward people and churches in dire need. In order to make these needs real to seven million Lutherans scattered over the expanses of a vast continent, living in the midst of physical abundance, virtually untouched by war's destruction, just such an educational program as that of Lutheran World Action was needed. Only if properly informed can even the most loyal of Christian hearts respond fully to the needs of a brother. Beginning in 1948 Promotional Secretary Rollin Shaffer has provided remarkably effective leadership in this area.

By 1950 Lutheran World Action had reached a peculiar position. The war had been over for five years, and it was clear that the emergency period in Europe was past. Yet recovery was far from complete, and in many parts of the world there were still areas of great need; the orphaned missions were not yet ready to stand alone; the refugee problem had not been solved; there were many smaller Lutheran churches still in need of assistance if their future were to be secured. Rather than continuing the appeals on an an-

*Cumulative totals do not include Canadian gifts after 1948.

nual emergency basis, the National Lutheran Council decided to confront the members of the congregations with a reduced, long-term program which might well become a permanent part of each church's missionary enterprise. A "turn in the road" had been reached, and the National Lutheran Council therefore recommended that after 1954 Lutheran World Action contributions become a normal part of each church budget.

This plan was adopted, but shortly thereafter the Korean War intervened, and all of the careful predictions of decreased Lutheran World Action goals were shelved in the face of new emergency demands. The Service Men's Commission was hastily reactivated to make possible a ministry to the thousands of Lutheran men and women now inducted into the armed forces. In 1951 and in successive years goals were increased rather than decreased, until in 1958 the churches were to be asked for \$3,710,000.

In only two participating bodies was Lutheran World Action made a part of the annual budget, all others feeling that the increased goals would necessitate special appeals in the congregations as usual. In all bodies the educational program of Lutheran World Action continued unimpaired. The "turn in the road" had served only to make clear to all that although it was no longer universally regarded as an emergency program, Lutheran World Action would remain as a significant responsibility of the churches through the years to come. As in the past, Lutheran World Action would continue to be one of the great forces in enlarging the vision and widening the horizons of the Lutheran churches of North America. Beyond this, as Dr. Empie pointed out, it would open new doors of service and make possible the achievement of objectives which would continue to influence the course of world Lutheranism as well.

MOBILIZING THE SWEDISH CHURCH

The methods employed in other Lutheran churches of the world for mobilizing congregational support for overseas relief and reconstruction have not been radically different from those in Ameri-

ca. In every case an appeal has been directed to the individual members of the church, and contributions have been of a voluntary character. In every instance the needs of the brethren have been publicized through news releases, special brochures, feature articles, and the spoken word. Christian compassion and the oneness of the church have been the basis of the appeals, and special offerings have been taken either in the churches or through personal solicitation.

In Canada the churches have worked very closely with the Lutheran World Action organization of the National Lutheran Council, but since 1949 have conducted their own appeal through the Canadian Lutheran Council and allocated their funds independently. From 1940 through 1956 total Canadian contributions have amounted to \$967,000, the largest part of which has been used for overseas relief and reconstruction. Australian Lutherans have likewise worked through their own National Committee since 1947.

The Swedish Section of the Lutheran World Convention had built up a reserve fund during the war years with which it was able to begin its program of interchurch aid. Through the publication of a paper called *Churches Under the Cross*, edited by Pastor Daniel Cederberg, additional interest and support among the congregations were stimulated, so that from 1946 to 1954 the Swedish Section was able to distribute more than \$300,000 for relief and reconstruction in Finland, Hungary, Germany, Poland, Austria, and other countries in Europe. Under its new name, *Lutherhjälpen*, this journal has since appeared regularly as the chief channel of publicity for the overseas aid program of the Swedish National Committee.

From 1945 to 1947 Till Bröders Hjälp gathered more than \$600,000 through voluntary collections and contributed to church reconstruction projects in nine different countries. In order to coordinate its work more closely with the World Council of Churches this organization maintained Pastor Göte Hedenquist as its official representative in Geneva.

After Till Bröders Hjälp was disbanded in 1947, church contri-

butions to relief and reconstruction in Europe were channeled through a great variety of organizations, some specifically church-related, others social or humanitarian. Svenska Europahjälpen, or Swedish Aid to Europe, was by far the most inclusive of these efforts. It was organized in February, 1946, but although supported by both bishops and church people, it never had a specifically church-oriented program. When it became more and more apparent that no particular allocation of money would be made for church reconstruction projects in Europe, the Swedish Bishops' Conference felt obliged in October, 1947, to organize a specifically church-oriented appeal. This was called Svenska Kyrkohjälpen, or Swedish Church Relief. A special committee, with Bishop John Cullberg as chairman and Dr. Harry Johansson as secretary, was made responsible for publicity within the dioceses and for distribution of the funds according to allocations passed on to it by the World Council of Churches. From 1947 to 1957, a total of \$1,100,000 was contributed through this committee.

Together with the local chapters of the Gustav Adolf Society, the Swedish National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and the Swedish Church Relief have been the most important channels through which assistance has been given to church reconstruction in Europe. For general relief and for refugee aid, however, other organizations, and especially the government-sponsored Swedish Aid to Europe, have carried the larger responsibility, though always with the full support and active participation of the church. The total amount of cash raised in Sweden for relief and church reconstruction in Europe from 1947 to 1951 was \$12,549,096. If the 36,468,583 pounds of food, clothing, and other supplies are added to this, the total Swedish contribution during these years was \$39,468,583, of which six specifically church-related organizations raised \$2,044,199.

WORKING THROUGH THE WORLD COUNCIL

The first Lutheran gifts for church construction in Europe after the war were either transmitted directly to the receiving churches

or channeled through the Reconstruction Department of the World Council of Churches in Geneva. Because of their close geographical proximity, Swedish church aid societies reached directly across into Finland and Norway as soon as the way opened in 1945. Together with a special Liberation Gift of \$5,000 and \$30,000 for other purposes, Till Bröders Hjälp, in a gesture filled with symbolic significance, made available to every church in Norway two large altar candles. For its immediate use the Church of Finland received a gift of \$34,000, and the Swedish Committee of the Lutheran World Convention supplemented this with a gift of Bibles for the Swedish-speaking parishes of Finland. Through Pastor Cederberg's close personal ties with Bishop Szeruda, the first Swedish church reconstruction grant for Poland was given for the rebuilding of two schools in Warsaw. The Hilfswerk in Germany also received a direct grant of \$25,000.

Interest in Sweden, however, in the newly-formed Reconstruction Department in Geneva was very much alive, as witnessed by the appointment of Pastor Göte Hedenquist as Swedish representative in Geneva in 1945. Moreover, several tentative allocations of money were made by Till Bröders Hjälp for church work in France, Holland, and Poland, on condition that more adequate information should first be secured from those countries. This information the Swedish Committee hoped to secure through the offices at Geneva. Support of the Reconstruction Department of the World Council by the Swedish Section of the Lutheran World Federation was also demonstrated through an \$8,000 grant placed at the Department's disposal in 1947.

The arrival of Dr. Michelfelder in Geneva in July, 1945, was a clear indication that the Lutherans of the United States and Canada likewise intended to fulfill the agreement made by Dr. Long and Dr. Bersell early in the year to coordinate American Lutheran reconstruction efforts through the World Council. Michelfelder took a very active part in the work of the Reconstruction Committee from the time he reached Geneva, and the degree of confidence he enjoyed from Dr. J. Hutchinson Cockburn, the Director, and from Dr. Visser t'Hooft was reflected in their urgent



The first carload of wheat gathered for the All-Lutheran Food Appeal, dedicated at Reserve, Montana, in 1953.

Refugees in the Bavarian Forest of Germany receive gifts from Lutheran World Relief, distributed by the Evangelical Hilfswerk.





A young vicar in Germany, just completing his studies, receives a gift of clothing from Lutheran friends overseas.



Pastor Bruno Ederma of the LWF staff helps a refugee find suitable used shoes and socks at the Lutheran Study Center at Imbshausen, Germany.

A Hilfswerk worker tells Pastor Gerhard Dietrich and Dr. Richard W. Solberg, Lutheran World Service representatives in Germany, how packaged foods for the needy are distributed.





Pastor Sömer from Estonia preaches to a group of his countrymen just before they leave for America from the LWF embarkation center at Bremen.



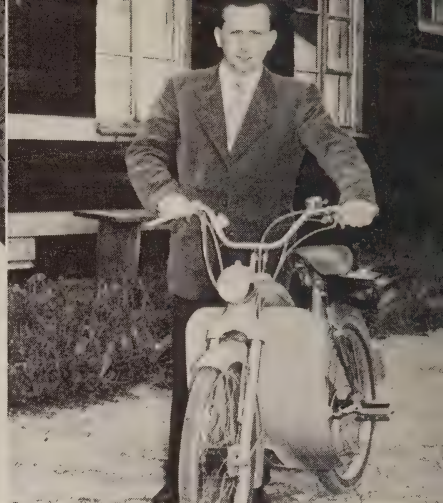
Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in Warsaw, Poland, rebuilt with LWF aid.

Dedication service in March, 1957, for Lutheran church in Merlebach, France, built with LWF aid.



"Gospel caravan" used to provide religious instruction for children in the devastated areas of East Germany.





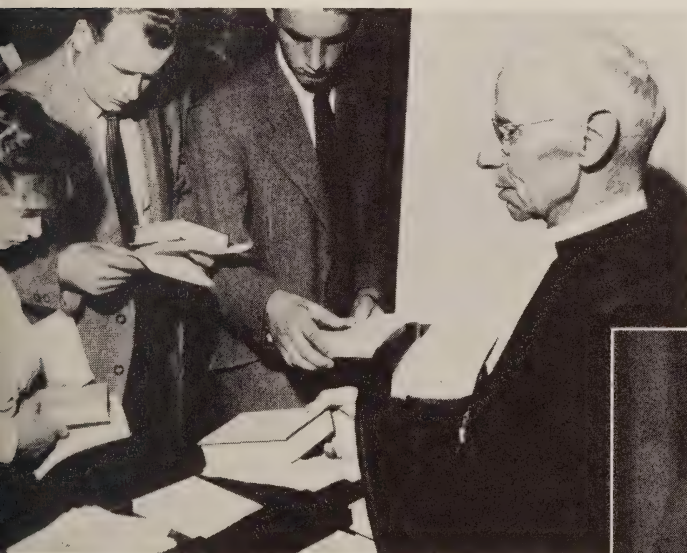
Youth pastor in Salzburg, Austria, with motor-scooter purchased with LWF funds to facilitate his ministry in scattered refugee camps.

Behind every refugee or DP resettlement lies much tedious paper work. Family registration cards are here being matched with assurances from the U.S. by Miss Alice Erlander.





Dedication of barracks church in Finnmark, in northern Norway, furnished with the aid of the Lutheran World Federation in 1947.



Dr. John H. Reble, Canadian LWS representative, distributing Bibles to emigrants about to embark from Bremerhaven, Germany.

Deaconesses of the Inner Mission in Berlin with twin orphans.



Shipping bricks in a church reconstruction project conducted by one of LWF's international student work camps.



"Little Miss Refugee" enjoys food at a refugee camp.

One of the first money gifts from the Lutheran World Federation to a pastor's widow in Berlin.

Dr. J. Igor Bella, LWS Senior Representative for Lutheran Minority Churches, notes relief needs during a tour of Yugoslavia in 1955.





Clothing distribution by LWS in Jordan.

Augusta Victoria Hospital, LWF headquarters on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem.

Clothing gifts from Lutheran World Service bring smiles to the faces of Arab refugee children in Jordan.





An LWF committee quizzes a DP as to his qualifications and fitness for work. Left to right: Dr. Howard Hong of the U.S.; Dr. Ernest Ein, Estonian; Prof. Theodor Celms, Latvian; and Dr. Otto Stanaitis, Lithuanian.

Refugee family from East Germany, sponsored by Lutheran Refugee Service, arrives in New York in April, 1957, on their way to St. Paul, Minnesota.



request that he undertake the organization of the new Division of Material Aid within the Department only a few months after his arrival.

One of the first major projects in church reconstruction undertaken by the Reconstruction Department was the purchase of sixty-one wooden barracks for use as temporary church buildings in the destroyed cities of Germany. This decision was made late in August, 1945, just as the historic church conference of Treysa was being held and the Evangelical Church in Germany was being organized. A tremendous task of church reconstruction, both physical and spiritual, confronted these delegates and the twenty-eight provincial churches they represented. As of January 1, 1945, 1,199 churches and chapels in Germany had been either totally destroyed or badly damaged, and 2,160 others damaged to a lesser degree. Nine hundred eighteen parsonages, 1,159 parish houses or kindergartens, and 335 institutions of the Inner Mission were either partially or totally destroyed. Altogether 8,924 church-owned buildings had suffered through the destruction of war. These figures, moreover, do not include the last four months of the war, during which some of the most severe air raids took place.

These were overwhelming statistics, but the Reconstruction Committee moved nevertheless to place temporary church structures in as many places as their limited means would permit. When set up, these buildings would provide worship centers seventy-one by twenty-two feet, complete with stoves and benches, at a cost of about \$5,000 each. It was agreed that the British churches would order fifteen, the Swiss churches ten, the World Council in America ten. Michelfelder promised to cable for \$50,000 from the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention and also to write to the Swedish Section to see if they could supply some buildings from Sweden for Germany. The first of the barracks, purchased in Switzerland with Lutheran money, was designated for the city of Freiburg, which had not a single church building standing intact. The Swedish aid committee, Till Bröders Hjälp, responded with funds for two barracks in Holland and one in France.

This pattern of operation continued throughout 1946 and most of 1947, with church reconstruction projects varying from bicycles for pastors in Czecho-Slovakia to catechisms printed on Swedish paper for use in Germany. In every case the Reconstruction Committee served as a coordinating agency for the contributing churches, sometimes suggesting projects to the churches, but more frequently simply taking cognizance of projects being implemented by interested churches and organizations.

Dr. Michelfelder served during these months in a dual, and later in a triple capacity in Geneva. As Director of the Division of Material Aid for the World Council, he handled relief supplies for all churches. As Commissioner of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention, he made recommendations to the Lutheran churches of the United States both regarding material aid and projects of church reconstruction, always consulting with the Reconstruction Department of the World Council on the latter. His added duties as Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation Planning Commission after July, 1946, dealt primarily with preparations for the first World Assembly at Lund. It was to aid Michelfelder in his capacity as American Commissioner that Dr. Clifford A. Nelson came to Geneva in April, 1946, and his inspection trips into the eastern European countries were productive of a great number of recommended projects for church reconstruction which Michelfelder then forwarded to the American Section in New York.

FORMING THE NATIONAL COMMITTEES

With the adoption of the new constitution of the Lutheran World Federation at Lund in July, 1947, certain organizational changes were necessitated in the various countries represented in the Federation. Each country was expected to establish a national committee which should be the official point of contact in that country for the Lutheran World Federation. Consequently, on October 1, 1947, the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention went out of existence, and its functions were taken over by

the United States Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, whose personnel was identical with that of the National Lutheran Council.

Similar action was taken in Canada, in Australia, in each of the Scandinavian countries, in Germany, and elsewhere. From this time on, the program of Lutheran relief and reconstruction in Europe became increasingly well-defined, as national committees in both giving and receiving countries established their ties with the Federation headquarters in Geneva. This development should not be understood as a waning of interest in the World Council of Churches, but rather as the expression of the conviction formulated at both Uppsala and Lund that the Lutheran contribution to the ecumenical movement could be most effectively made as a confessional church. The same position would also be made clear at the constituent assembly of the World Council of Churches at Amsterdam in 1948.

One factor which materially strengthened the cause of confessional Lutheranism in Europe and which doubtless contributed to the auspicious beginning of the Lutheran World Federation at Lund was the strategically-timed and eminently successful Ten-Million-Dollar Campaign of Lutheran World Action in 1946 and 1947. The fact that the Lutherans of North America were prepared to contribute within two years the sum of \$6,950,000 in cash to church reconstruction and relief in Europe was a convincing demonstration of both vitality and good will which found a ready response both in Germany and in parts of Scandinavia.

THE UNITED STATES COMMITTEE AT WORK

Just as the United States Committee was engaged in the process of reorganizing to facilitate the handling of its greatly expanded program of European church reconstruction, it was deprived of one of its key leaders. Dr. Ralph H. Long, for seventeen years Executive Director of the National Lutheran Council, succumbed to a heart attack in the early months of 1948. He had come to the Council in 1933 at a time when there was serious question as

to its continuance, and had provided the dynamic leadership necessary to bring it out of the years of depression and into the crucial war years, shaping its organization to meet the heavy responsibilities thrust upon it for the care of orphaned missions and for the ministry to Lutheran service men. "These are giant days, not tiny hours, in which we live!" Dr. Long had declared in 1940 as the first Lutheran World Action appeal was being laid before the congregations of North America. "High above a bleeding and wounded world stands the Cross of Calvary with its promise of victory over all evil. Above the din of battle and the confusion of the world it stands as the abiding refuge for all."

The war was not yet over when early in 1945 Dr. Long, together with Drs. Meyer and Bersell, undertook the first mission to Europe to lay the groundwork for an effective program of reconstruction among the Lutheran churches and to seek a reactivation of the Lutheran World Convention. Both the appointment of Dr. Michelfelder as American Commissioner and the launching of the Ten-Million-Dollar Appeal were the direct results of recommendations made by Long and his colleagues. "In my judgment," wrote Dr. Long shortly after his return, "the present situation offers the greatest opportunity for the building of the kingdom of Christ that we have faced in a century. . . . Under God the future of the Lutheran Church in the world depends on how we measure up to the responsibilities and opportunities of this hour."

Dr. Long saw the success of the Ten-Million-Dollar Appeal simply as an occasion for gratitude to God and predicted that it would result in a "profound spiritual reflex action" in the churches which participated. He was confident that those who gave out of Christian love and compassion would be blessed in a measure far out of proportion to the size of the gifts they gave.

Quite apart from the personal bereavement felt by his colleagues in New York and most of all by Dr. Michelfelder in Geneva, who had been his close friend for more than forty years, Dr. Long's death left a great gap in the leadership of the National Lutheran Council. Fortunately Dr. Paul Empie who, as Dr. Long's assistant, had provided such capable and warm-hearted direction

for the Lutheran World Action program since 1940, was able to assume the executive leadership of the Council. But even before Dr. Long's death efforts had been made to secure someone to handle the European reconstruction funds and to act as liaison with the Lutheran World Federation headquarters. Dr. John Scherzer of San Antonio, Texas, now accepted the position as Secretary of the European Desk of the National Lutheran Council, beginning September 1, 1948.

The coming of Dr. Scherzer to New York was a part of the second phase of American Lutheran interchurch aid to Europe, which began with the Lund Assembly in 1947 and ended in 1953 with the activation of the new Department of World Service of the Lutheran World Federation. During these years the United States Committee conducted its own operation in Europe, headed by Dr. Michelfelder, its chief Commissioner. He was assisted by staff members bearing particular responsibility for areas in which the Committee supported projects. Before 1947 the American Section had sent emissaries such as Dr. Clifford A. Nelson, Dr. Julius Bodensieck, the Reverend Jacob Heikkinen, and the Reverend Sigurd Engstrom to Europe for shorter special assignments, but in that year the Reverend Martin Dietrich came to Geneva as Michelfelder's assistant for the entire church reconstruction program of the United States Committee in Europe.

It was the studied policy of the Committee during these years of decisive help to the Lutheran churches of Europe to maintain a minimum number of its own personnel in the field. This was done partly to free every possible dollar for specific projects of church reconstruction and partly to avoid any possible feeling on the part of receiving churches that the American churches were seeking to interfere in their internal affairs. Hence, until January, 1951, Pastor Dietrich maintained his residence in Geneva, although after 1949 he was responsible only for the program in Germany. Likewise, Dr. J. Igor Bella, after his expulsion from Czecho-Slovakia by the Communists in 1949, supervised United States Committee operations in all of Europe outside of Germany, but maintained his office in Geneva.

There is no doubt that these motives of economy and of respect for the integrity of the churches were considered and sincere. Overhead costs were kept at a minimum, and church reconstruction funds were for the most part allocated in accordance with the recommendation of officials of the receiving churches. But while leading personalities in the European churches regularly experienced the inner-family fellowship with representatives of world Lutheranism, parish pastors and congregations rarely saw such a personality, except in the crowded moments of a dedicatory service for a church or an institution. During these years, when both spiritual isolation and physical need had opened the way for the rooting of a deep consciousness of world Lutheran oneness within the congregations of Europe, the number of men who could symbolize and interpret that oneness was consciously kept at a minimum.

In other areas of activity such as the distribution of material relief and services to Displaced Persons, where the contacts with the local churches were far less intimate, such rigid economy of personnel was not observed. From the standpoint of one who had experience in both phases of the program, Dr. Scherzer evaluated the contributions of effective field staff as "more important and more valuable in the long-range program of interchurch aid than the investment of dollars or the distribution of goods." Such investments, he felt, could only achieve their real purpose insofar as they were "properly related to the life of the churches through personal representatives." Those few men who were assigned to perform this important function did their work extremely well. Had there been more of them, the consciousness of the work of the Lutheran World Federation would be far more vivid among pastors and congregations in Europe than it is today.

Certain general patterns of procedure developed for the allocation and distribution of American church reconstruction funds in Europe. The earliest requests originated either with the World Council of Churches or as the result of investigating trips made into Germany, Poland, Hungary, or some other country by a representative of the American Section. Such requests, endorsed by

Dr. Michelfelder, were forwarded to New York where they were studied and acted upon.

Following the Lund Assembly in 1947 American Lutheran aid was handled directly by the United States Committee, for which Michelfelder remained as chief European representative. This became particularly clear in the case of the two large grants of one million dollars each for the churches of Norway and Finland which, on the recommendation of Dr. J. A. Aasgaard, president of The Evangelical Lutheran Church, were made a part of the Ten-Million-Dollar Appeal. Both were administered from New York.

SPIRITUAL RECONSTRUCTION IN NORWAY

The Church of Norway emerged in 1945 from a period of bitter suffering and persecution, during which both pastors and bishops had been imprisoned and the public work and worship of the church had been suppressed. The courageous and unyielding position taken by Bishop Eivind Berggrav and the Norwegian Church in resisting Nazi attack and occupation had aroused high admiration, not only among the many Lutherans of Norwegian ancestry in America, but among the American people as a whole. The suggestion to extend a helping hand to this church, therefore, met with general approval.

Since the most heavily-destroyed part of Norway lay far to the north of the Arctic Circle in the province of Finnmark, it was difficult to secure accurate information concerning the actual extent of church damage or of the prospect of immediate reconstruction. Presently, however, the situation became clearer. When the people of Finnmark returned to their former villages and settlements following the withdrawal of the German occupation forces, they found virtually every building in the entire province leveled to the ground. Not even living quarters were available.

In such a strenuous climate as that of Finnmark it was of first importance to provide at least temporary shelter for those who would undertake the task of rebuilding. Piers and shipping facilities, also vital to the existence of these isolated arctic communities,

had to be constructed. Both building materials and labor had to be imported, and construction work under such severe climatic conditions necessarily went forward very slowly. All of these factors were taken into account by Norwegian Government planning agencies when they placed church reconstruction rather low on the list of building priorities.

With permanent rebuilding thus postponed, the Norwegian Church was forced to undertake temporary measures. With Swedish and American gifts a large motorboat and several smaller boats were purchased to enable pastors to travel from one settlement to another in Finnmark. Early in 1946 the Norwegian Government offered Bishop Berggrav twenty-three barrack buildings formerly used by the German occupation army, and the American Section gave \$50,000, for erecting and equipping them. In addition to a chapel seating sixty or seventy people, a three-room vicarage and a kitchen for the social needs of the parish were built into each barrack. To hasten the entire reconstruction program in Finnmark, the United States Committee purchased a bulldozer for delivery to the Norwegian highway administration, which in turn agreed to pay the equivalent sum in Norwegian currency to the Church Reconstruction Committee and also to open a road to the source of building materials for the church.

By 1948, however, only a small portion of the million dollars had been actually put to use in Norway. Government priorities and the scarcity of building materials and labor still stood in the way of church reconstruction. It was, moreover, apparent that if technical difficulties could be overcome, insurance claims and government indemnities for war-destroyed property would make it possible to complete the entire program of reconstruction in Finnmark without exhausting the million-dollar gift.

With this information in hand representatives of the Norwegian Reconstruction Committee met with American representatives in Amsterdam in September, 1948, and presented a long-range plan of church reconstruction. Pastor Conrad Bonnevie-Svendsen, the secretary of the Norwegian Committee, proposed that the balance of the million dollars be left on deposit in New York, and that from

time to time the Norwegian Committee be permitted to invest the dollars in Norwegian Government bonds, currently selling at low rates because of the premium on dollars. These bonds could later be resold at par value to the Norwegian Government in Norway and payment received in Norwegian kroner. Funds would then be available for church reconstruction purposes when the building restrictions in Finnmark should be lifted.

Whatever profits should accrue from this investment were to be placed in a special fund to be administered by the Norwegian bishops for the strengthening of the spiritual life of the Church of Norway. From this fund would be built a training center for lay workers in the church and a center for the education of Christian teachers, both of which would be operated and maintained independent of state control. The plans were subsequently approved by the United States Committee, and the result has been that the original million-dollar gift has been augmented by about forty per cent. The church reconstruction program in Finnmark has now been completed, with the cooperation of the Norwegian Inner Mission Society, which was assigned a portion of the gift money to rebuild a number of children's and old people's homes. When Dr. John Scherzer and Dr. Igor Bella braved the rough seas and the wild winds to visit Finnmark in May, 1950, they found the building program well under way. Eleven churches, fourteen parsonages, and twenty-two schools and institutions have since been completed.

Church reconstruction in Norway, however, has not been confined to the replacement of destroyed buildings. During the war years when the Norwegian Church operated as a free church, depending only upon the private support of its people, new spiritual resources were developed. The American Gift, therefore, and especially the part of it which could be devoted to projects for the further development of these resources, came at a very strategic moment in the life of the Norwegian Church. The Layman's Institute, under the direction of Rector Daehlen, seeks to reach the laboring groups and the young families of the church through short courses on family and social problems given by carefully

selected, qualified personnel within the congregations. Longer courses as well, centering in an academy of Christian stewardship, will eventually be developed.

The Institute of Christian Education, led by Rector Bjarne Hardeide, which combines representation from both the diocesan councils of the state church and the voluntary Christian organizations of Norway, prepares study materials for religious instruction in the schools and in the Bible courses of the Layman's Institute. The Catechetical Institute in Trondheim, for the training of Christian teachers, and the Institute for Ecumenical Relations in Oslo, under the leadership of Pastor Henrik Hauge, have also received considerable assistance from the American Gift. All of these new developments in the Norwegian Church will eventually be entirely supported by voluntary offerings of the Norwegian congregations.

There are other evidences as well that the Norwegian Church is emerging from a period of struggle and hardship as a stronger and more vital church. There is widespread interest in organized parish evangelism. Active participation in programs of material and financial aid outside of Norway began as early as 1947 through the organization of an official church relief agency, *Kirkens Nødhjelp*. An active part has been taken by the Norwegian Church in the work of the Lutheran World Federation, both financially and through personnel serving on staff and commissions. According to Bishop Smemo of Oslo, a "new time" has arrived in Norwegian church life. People have become interested not only in foreign missions, but also in helping other churches and other groups that may be in need. For many parishes and people whose interests were once primarily local and personal, "the whole world is now in sight." In this resurgence of vital Christian expression in Norway the American Gift has played a very significant role.

ONE MILLION FOR FINLAND

The plight of the Church of Finland also aroused widespread sympathy in the United States. As the result of the Winter War in 1939-40 the Karelian Peninsula was taken from Finland by Rus-

sia and more than 500,000 Finns had to seek homes elsewhere in their country. Through the territorial cessions to Russia the number of parishes in Finland was reduced from 600 to 550. Because of her natural opposition to Russia, Finland became a partner of Germany during World War II, and when the German troops withdrew from Lapland in northern Finland, their scorched-earth policy left very few churches or parsonages or church institutions standing.

The first assistance to the Finnish Church following the end of the war came from her near neighbors in Sweden. One of the first shipments of Lutheran World Relief in New York also included assistance for Finland.

On January 25, 1946, the United States Committee voted to set aside one million dollars of the Ten-Million-Dollar Appeal as a fund for Finnish church reconstruction. The Reverend Jacob Heikinen was sent as a special representative to Finland for the purpose of working out an agreement with the Church for the expenditure of this fund. Five categories were agreed upon, with 40 per cent of the total allocated for the rebuilding of churches and parsonages and 30 per cent for church high schools and deaconess institutions. A category designated as "Living Needs" was to provide emergency material and financial assistance to pastors and church workers. Scholarship funds were also established for study, both in Europe and in America, in the fields of practical church administration, stewardship, missions, and theology. A special fund was set aside to foster the work of the Lutheran World Federation in Finland, and a fund of \$6,000 was established for the exchange of church leaders between the United States and Finland. To act as liaison between the Ecclesiastical Board of the Church of Finland and the United States Committee, a Finnish pastor, the Reverend Ahti Auranen, was appointed, with responsibility also to supervise the plans for the construction of the church buildings in all parts of Finland.

It was agreed that the funds should remain in New York to be drawn upon by request of the Ecclesiastical Board for specific projects. The Finnish Board was given freedom in determining

the manner of converting these American dollars into Finnmarks, and demonstrated a great deal of ingenuity in arranging with the Finnish Government for the financing of coffee imports into Finland. By such means the value of the American grant in terms of Finnmarks was increased to about \$7,000,000. Through the use of American dollars the Finns were able to purchase from Sweden or Denmark such supplies as cement, steel, and pipes, which were very scarce in Finland. Brick, for example, was almost impossible to secure in 1948. But by importing other commodities which were badly needed by the brick concerns, Pastor Auranen was able to exchange them for generous shares of the limited construction material.

The necessity of paying war reparations to Russia had so taxed production facilities of Finnish industry that there was very little material available on the Finnish market. Such a variety of textile materials, buttons, and thread appeared in the official purchase requests forwarded to New York that Dr. Michelfelder good-naturedly suggested to the United States Committee that if they could secure any surplus buttonholes from the Army, they might also include those in the shipment to Finland.

When he visited this vast forest-covered, lake-studded land of the North, both in 1950 and 1952, to bring the greetings of American Lutherans, Dr. J. Igor Bella found a vital, sturdy church life among the congregations. During the course of the construction program, which lasted from 1948 to 1952, nineteen churches, twenty-three parsonages, eighteen church high schools, and four deaconess institutions were built. In the case of every individual construction project the funds provided from American sources were more than matched by the contributions of the individual congregations and the Finnish Church.

Moreover, great care was taken to interpret the spirit in which the gifts were given by brethren across the seas. Some of this understanding was reflected in a quotation from the daily newspaper in the city of Rovaniemi, far to the north on the Arctic Circle, on the occasion of the dedication of the new church there. "The bells of the church toll this Sunday morning for the first

time to summon the people to the temple. This is the day of her dedication and a deep sense of gratitude fills our hearts when we see the newborn place of worship completed after so many difficult years. It is only through the help of God and through Him, by the aid and assistance of our many neighbors and friends beyond the seas, that we have been able to bring this work to an end. And now, at long last, a new house of God stands again on a beautiful place near the river. 'Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name give glory.'"

In 1952, the year in which the church reconstruction program was completed, every congregation in Finland took up a special offering for the program of the Lutheran World Federation. Since then the Finnish Church has regularly taken its place among the giving churches of the Lutheran world family. Interchurch aid has become a reality in the congregations of Finland.

NEW ALTARS IN GERMANY

By far the largest sums of money for church reconstruction were designated for Germany by the United States Committee. In the land of the Reformation there were more Lutherans than in any other country in the world, and in the wake of the war more destruction of church property than anywhere else in Europe. The knowledge of the great need which would confront the church in Germany at the end of the war was an important factor in moving the Lutherans of America to begin their plans for relief and reconstruction as early as 1940.

Beginning with the \$50,000 grant for the purchase of temporary church barracks in 1945, the earliest gifts of the American Section were channeled through Dr. Michelfelder in response to his written or cabled requests. As a regular participant in the Reconstruction Committee of the World Council, Dr. Michelfelder invariably kept his ecumenical colleagues informed of his requests, and in many instances the Lutheran grants were paid out through the World Council. This was true of the huge child-feeding program in Germany and the large purchases of blankets and other army surplus

materials which were dispatched early in 1946 to Finland, Czechoslovakia, France, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, Holland, and Poland.

For the churches of Germany, however, there were many substantial grants for spiritual reconstruction given directly by the American Section in 1946 and 1947. Material for deaconess garbs, paper for the printing of catechisms and Bible histories, office supplies and equipment for the offices of the Hilfswerk, and \$95,000 for the relief of twenty Lutheran church institutions, are random examples taken from the long list.

At the same United States Committee meeting in Amsterdam in 1948 which approved the Norwegian Church's plan for the use of its Million-Dollar Gift, it was also decided to make available a similar grant to the newly-formed German National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation. To prepare the specific requests within this general allocation the Germans set up a Distribution Committee headed by Bishop Hans Meiser of Bavaria and including representatives of the National Committee and the Hilfswerk. The United States Committee was represented by Pastor Martin Dietrich.

Even after the million-dollar "Lutherspende" had been distributed, this committee continued to function in relation to subsequent grants and went out of existence only with the organization of the new German Committee for Lutheran World Service in 1952.

It is impossible to detail the individual projects of church reconstruction between 1945 and 1952, a simple listing of which would fill thirty-five typewritten pages. The German Distribution Committee, however, submitted its requests under five categories, and these may serve as a convenient framework for a general view of the program.

There were many areas in Germany immediately after the war where not a single church building remained standing. In such instances the primary need in spiritual reconstruction was the providing of rooms for worship. Congregations made use of every kind of temporary facility they could find, including cellars and aban-

doned bunkers, and many who had been accustomed to worship beneath soaring Gothic arches found they could give thanks to God for life and hope with equal fervor in the close confines of a makeshift wooden barrack.

One of the most noteworthy instances in which foreign gifts were combined with self-help was the construction between 1947 and 1949 of forty-nine so-called "rubble churches," thirty-one of which were made possible through Lutheran aid from America. Following a standard design prepared by the well-known German architect, Professor Otto Bartning, these churches made use of brick salvaged from omnipresent ruins, and when completed in their strictly functional style, without even a spire or a bell-tower, they provided a substantial though simple house of worship accommodating 450 persons. The \$10,000 of gift money which was allocated for each church was used to purchase the heavy laminated structural supports, the roof, the doors and windows, and the furnishings of the church. Members of the congregation wherever possible contributed their services in the construction process. Professor Bartning also planned nineteen parish centers of similar design and twenty-nine chapels for newly-established refugee congregations, several of which were built with reconstruction funds from the United States Committee.

With 3,368 churches in Germany either damaged or destroyed, it was clear that comparatively few reconstruction projects could benefit from foreign gifts. Most of the repair and rebuilding would have to be done by the churches and the people themselves as time and resources permitted. Because of the limited extent of these funds the representatives of the United States Committee stressed repeatedly that the purpose of the outside aid was simply to undergird and to strengthen the local effort.

As economic conditions in West Germany improved after 1948, the United States Committee began to follow the practice of making loans for church reconstruction and repair, rather than outright grants. These loans were granted on very liberal terms, interest

free for the first two years, 3½ per cent for the third and fourth years, and regular bank rates thereafter until repaid. The loans were serviced by the Evangelical Hilfswerk. In 1952 when the administration of the loan fund was taken over by the German Committee for Lutheran World Service, the Hilfswerk reported that DM 2,853,547, the equivalent of \$679,416, had been distributed since 1948. According to the decision of the United States Committee, as this money was gradually repaid, it was placed in a permanent revolving fund to be used in Germany for the strengthening of church life.

The situation in eastern Germany remained critical, even after the Distribution Committee indicated in 1951 that the West German churches were ready to enter the ranks of "giving churches." The United States Committee did not, therefore, apply its loan policy to the church reconstruction program there. However, even in eastern Germany local resources always bore the brunt of the financial load, with outside gifts adding the necessary extra stimulus and encouragement.

STRENGTH FOR THE PRIESTS AND PROPHETS

Another major category of interchurch aid was that which sought to strengthen and conserve the human resources of the German churches. The suffering of the war years had exacted its toll among pastors and lay leaders. Thousands of them had lost their lives in battle or in bombing raids, and those who survived had to carry on the work of their fallen colleagues in addition to their own.

The spiritual and physical needs of the congregations in the immediate postwar months were especially acute and actually demanded more strength and vigor than many pastors were able to muster. For this reason the special living allowances, the medical care, and the travel subsidies which were made available represented a real undergirding of the spiritual life of the churches of Germany. One of the first Lutheran leaders to benefit from this program was Doctor Theophil Wurm, the venerable Bishop of Württemberg, whose sturdy resistance to the encroachments of

Nazism had made him a symbol of strength and hope within the German church. Together with two other Lutheran leaders, he was invited to Switzerland early in 1946 for a much-needed period of rest and recuperation.

Literally thousands of key Christian leaders in western Europe received similar help during the postwar years. Sometimes it was a cash grant to enable a pastor to purchase medicine or food or clothing for his family; sometimes it was an invitation to spend two weeks in rest and relaxation at some institution of the church tucked away in the quiet cool of the Black Forest or the invigorating freshness of the North Sea coast.

Frequently relaxation was coupled with study and Christian fellowship, as in the series of theological conferences at Bad Boll, sponsored for the first time in 1949 by the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran Church—Missouri Synod, and attended by hundreds of German pastors. One of the great needs in the postwar period was the re-establishment of ecclesiastical contacts by the German churches with the outside world after their long period of isolation. Preliminary planning sessions for the Lutheran World Assembly, and the Assembly itself in Lund in 1947, provided some of the first opportunities of this kind. The visit to the United States in 1948 by Bishop Hans Meiser of Bavaria was only one of many such efforts, both from America and Scandinavia, to restore important personal relationships for the German Lutheran churches. It would be impossible even to count the thousands of individual packages of food, clothing, and books which brought into Lutheran parsonages in Germany both physical and spiritual sustenance and enabled pastors to face their overwhelming tasks with renewed courage.

Support to Christian education on every level has been very close to the heart of the spiritual reconstruction program in Germany. Damaged school buildings had to be repaired; teachers had to be trained and supported; textbooks were in many instances unavailable. In the face of both political and economic problems in the postwar years, thousands of students would have been unable to continue their studies without scholarship assistance and

supplementary food rations. Doubtless the most significant single item of assistance has been the \$600,000 which has been made available through the Lutheran World Federation to the churches of the East Zone for the support of their program of Christian education since 1946.

With the advent of the Russian program of reeducation in the East Zone, the traditional method of giving religious instruction in the public schools had to be abandoned. In the face of an overwhelming shortage of both personnel and teaching rooms, the churches of the East Zone were forced to set up an entirely new and independent system of religious instruction. Teacher-training institutes had to be established and equipped, candidates recruited and given a respectable course of instruction, and teaching rooms had to be located in every parish. Even if so much church property had not been destroyed during the war, this would have been an extremely difficult problem because most church buildings were not built to include such facilities. However, with the assistance of outside gifts and through careful management of their own limited means, these churches raised up a staff of ten thousand lay teachers of religion, gave them each a two-year course of instruction, and sent them out into the 7,000 parishes of the East Zone to teach. Under almost unbelievable hardships, with inadequate salaries, and under the constant suspicion and periodic interference of the state, this corps of modern Christian heroes has continued to work up to the present time.

For the training of these teachers the churches of eastern Germany presently maintain about thirty-five seminaries. Year by year the number of church-owned teaching rooms increases, with the ultimate goal of a room for every parish. In 1953-54 Lutheran World Service grants made it possible for 732 parishes, or ten per cent of the total parishes of eastern Germany, to secure such teaching facilities. During the same period one-third of the total costs of maintaining over 1,100 catechetical students was defrayed from the same sources. Concerning this program of Christian education in East Germany, a prominent church official commented, "In the spiritual situation of the German East, the catechetical work is of

decisive importance. Upon it depends to a great extent whether in East Germany the materialistic view of life will win the youth or not."

SOCIAL EVANGELISM IN THE GERMAN CHURCH

In no other Protestant country is there such a highly developed program of institutional church welfare as in Germany. Since Johan Hinrich Wichern, the "father of the Inner Mission," founded the "Rauhes Haus" for neglected and unwanted boys in Hamburg in 1833, there has grown up a vast network of Christian institutions all over Germany. Embraced within this widespread social ministry of the church are hospitals for the care of epileptics, crippled and tubercular patients, for the retarded and the mentally ill; homes for the aged, the blind, and the deaf, for orphans and for morally-endangered youth; vocational training centers, kindergartens, labor colonies, and railway missions. Together with foreign missions, these institutions have been the special objects of voluntary individual and congregational support and have never been given regular assistance by either state governments or through church budgets. In 1948 the Inner Mission embraced more than 3,000 institutions, with about 180,000 beds for the sick, the infirm, and the outcasts of society.

Overburdened with patients even in normal times, the facilities of these institutions were strained almost to the breaking point during the years following the war. Several hundred of them were either partially or totally destroyed; equipment deteriorated; supplies gave out; personnel for medical and social care was simply not adequate. Direct grants for supplies and equipment as well as for the reconstruction or relocation of buildings were made by the United States Committee to dozens of Inner Mission institutions throughout Germany.

It was to these institutions that the Hilfswerk delivered much of the medicines, bandages, bed linens, baby layettes, and food which it received from German congregations and from churches

overseas. It was from the 139 deaconess motherhouses associated with the Inner Mission that some 46,000 Protestant sisters went out like angels of mercy into ruins and bunkers and refugee camps after the war, bringing relief and comfort to thousands of weary and suffering people. These were the living arms of the church, which other distant members of the body of Christ were privileged to strengthen with their gifts.

In addition to the welfare work of the Protestant church of Germany, several other general church activities were given direct aid by the United States Committee. Early in 1947 a grant of \$25,000 was made to a joint program of youth camps conducted by Dr. Manfred Müller of the Youth Department of the EKID and by the YMCA. Subsequently, youth centers and training schools for apprentices, retreat houses and hostels for Christian youth, and boarding homes for young people attending schools away from home were established in many parts of Germany.

Both the Men's Work and the Women's Work of the German church were given subsidies, as was also the energetically-led Service to Mothers, under the direction of Dr. Antonie Nopitsch of Stein, near Nürnberg. Here in a beautiful complex of buildings formerly occupied by members of Hitler's elite SS troops, Dr. Nopitsch established the headquarters for a service to war-weary mothers where they might come for periods of vacation and fellowship about God's Word in an atmosphere enriched by natural beauty and warm human understanding. Since 1946 thousands of mothers have thanked God and their church for the blessings they have received through Stein and its network of associated institutions both in East and West Germany.

One of the most significant developments in postwar German church life has been the Evangelical Academy movement. Founded in 1945 by Dr. Eberhard Müller and Professor Helmut Thielecke at Bad Boll in Württemberg, this movement seeks to promote what it conceives to be an absolutely essential relation between the Christian faith and all aspects of modern life. It was the failure to take this relation seriously which, according to Dr. Müller, opened the way for the moral and spiritual catastrophe of National Social-

ism. As its method of combating this fatal isolationism of the Christian faith the Evangelical Academy, in the name of the church, invited groups of individuals representing some significant profession or group—such as medicine, law, journalism, the theater, labor, music, or education—to discuss the special problems of their profession in relation to moral and Christian responsibility. For the first time in many years there has come a realization that the church is interested in the problems of people where they are, and the response to the academies has been extremely positive. Eighteen of them are now in operation, including five in East Germany, and about four thousand persons take part in their conferences each year.

During their earlier years almost all of the Evangelical Academies, beginning with Bad Boll, received grants from the United States Committee of the Lutheran World Federation. The largest individual grant was the \$50,000 which made possible the founding of the Academy for Social Study at Friedewald in the Rhineland in January, 1948. As a part of its program this unique institution in the midst of a highly industrialized community seeks to enable the church better to understand and to combat the ideas of materialistic Marxian socialism and thereby to reach Germany's traditionally unchurched labor groups with the Christian message.

GOD'S PRINTED PAGES

A final category is that of Christian literature. During the years immediately following the war the hunger for the printed word was almost as acute as the hunger for bread. Official estimates claimed there were more than six million Protestants in Germany without Bibles or Testaments, three million without hymnbooks, and four million children without books for religious instruction. Almost eight thousand pastors had lost their theological libraries. It was no wonder that the first official request sent to the World Council of Churches from the newly-organized Evangelical Church in Germany on August 31, 1945, was for \$60,000 worth of literature,

including 500,000 Lutheran and 100,000 Reformed catechisms. With printing presses in ruins and with paper supplies either depleted or destroyed, the EKID also pled with the World Council for subsidies of cash and of paper to enable three religious publishing houses to rebuild and to resume publication.

The response from all sides was overwhelming. Swedish and American Bible Societies began with an immediate shipment of Bibles and Testaments. The second request approved for Germany by the American Section, following that for the barrack churches, was a \$20,000 grant for the purchase of paper in Sweden to be used for the printing of catechisms. The Hilfswerk requested almost immediately that cellulose instead of paper be purchased, which would then be processed in Germany and turned over to the various publishing houses. Glue and thread for binding Bibles were furnished by the American Bible Society. In the first three years after the war almost 1200 tons of paper and cellulose were sent to Germany by the American Section, with the American Bible Society, the Missouri Synod, and various Swedish agencies each providing about 500 tons. From these and other gifts more than 8,000,000 books and 6,000,000 issues of church papers and periodicals were produced. The famine of Christian literature had at least been checked.

In the allocations of the Million-Dollar Gift the German Distribution Committee began systematically to fill in the gaps in the theological libraries of pastors and seminaries. This they accomplished by giving direct subsidies and loans to publishers for producing certain designated titles. Proceeds from the loans were paid into a revolving fund which even yet exists for the constant enrichment of the literature of the church. Bishop Lilje's widely-read newspaper, the *Sonntagsblatt*, was also subsidized.

Stringent government regulations regarding the import of paper prevented a large production in the Eastern Zone of Germany. The churches, however, organized 280 synodical libraries in strategic centers with the assistance of Lutheran World Federation gifts, and these libraries were kept well-stocked with both new and standard theological literature for the use of pastors and professors.

Throughout the period of 1945 to 1953 the United States Committee spent a total of \$5,437,204 for church reconstruction projects in Germany. In many instances these gifts were multiplied through the judicious purchase of raw materials, to be processed under the direction of the Evangelical Hilfswerk into books, clothing, pastoral robes, or hospital linens, as the case might be.

The high premium which was placed upon dollars in foreign exchange also made possible extra benefits to all the churches of Europe. Dr. John Scherzer rendered an extraordinary service through careful purchase of so-called "blocked marks" for church reconstruction purposes in Germany, which in some cases almost doubled the value of the dollar in foreign exchange. Because of the precarious state of the economy in 1951 foreign corporations in Germany were not permitted to export their cash profits in marks. In order to convert these profits into some free currency such as dollars, the corporations were willing to exchange their "blocked marks" at a very favorable rate to some organization which could use them within Germany for purposes approved by the German Government. As the economy became more robust, these government controls gradually were removed, but in one single year Dr. Scherzer was able to supplement the American allocation to Germany by \$360,000.

THROUGH GERMAN EYES

One of the undoubted blessings that has come to both the American and the German Lutheran churches through this many-faceted program of spiritual reconstruction has been a deepening mutual understanding and affection. Not only the volume of the aid which has come, but the fact that it began at a time when enmity and bitterness still ruled in official circles created a deep impression on the German churches.

"During those early days," wrote one leading German churchman, "the need in Germany was so great, and the value of the dollars so high, that through the help of American Lutherans, the life and health of countless individuals were saved."

Not only were human needs met, but the life of the church was strengthened, especially in the East Zone where the economic privations and the political pressures upon the church have remained more or less acute ever since the end of the war. The establishment of certain new forms of church life, such as the catechetical program, in the face of extremely difficult conditions, could scarcely have been accomplished without the outside help which came just at the critical moments. This program has been the spiritual salvation of an entire generation of children and young people in East Germany.

To the program of physical relief and spiritual reconstruction as a whole there has been a positive response from the churches of Germany. Bishop Meiser referred in 1951 to the flood of gifts which had swept into Germany from all parts of the world as a challenge to the German churches "to develop their own resources to such an extent that they will match the joy of giving" displayed in Lutheran congregations abroad. There is no doubt that the response which the stewardship movement found in Germany following the Hannover Assembly of 1952 was in large measure a response to this challenge.

The will to share has been manifested by the German churches both toward their own needy brethren and toward those in other parts of the world. "Never in all its history," according to Dr. Walter Zimmermann, Vice-President of the Berlin headquarters of the United Evangelical Lutheran Church, "has the church in Germany ministered so extensively to the physical needs of the German people, and thereby also to their spiritual needs, as has been the case in these past few years." As West Germany gained steadily in economic strength after 1948, tremendous amounts of assistance were sent by churches and individuals to the East Zone. Following the Hannover Assembly in 1952 the Lutheran churches of Germany organized their own Committee on Lutheran World Service to facilitate the support of relief and reconstruction projects in needy areas outside of Germany. Even the hard-pressed churches of the East, impatient with their role as receiving churches, have gathered gifts for areas in greater need than they. The extent of German

participation in the program of Lutheran World Service will be examined in a later chapter.

LUTHERAN MINORITIES IN FRANCE AND ITALY

Outside the borders of Germany and Scandinavia are several sizable minority Lutheran churches which, since the end of the war, have been receiving both material and financial assistance through the Lutheran World Federation. Several of them are made up of German-speaking people who trace their origin to migrations from Germany and who had depended heavily upon financial assistance from the German churches before the war. This was true of the Lutherans of Italy, Switzerland, and parts of Yugoslavia and Rumania. Those in France were concentrated in large part in the border provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which at various times had been a part of Germany and in which the German language was commonly spoken. Lutherans in Czecho-Slovakia, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, on the other hand, represented the sturdy remnant which had survived the assaults of the Counter-Reformation. In Holland a small group of Lutherans had existed since the Reformation under the shadow of the powerful Dutch Reformed Church. Each of these Lutheran churches had problems peculiar to its own situation, but all shared in the common hazards of minority status, rendered acute by the losses and privations of war.

The 344,000 Lutherans in France are distributed between two church organizations: a State Church in the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, and a free Lutheran Church consisting of two synods, Paris and Montbeliard. The general problem of all these churches has been the reconstruction of church buildings which were damaged or destroyed during the war. To meet the emergency needs early in 1946 three temporary barrack churches were given by Swedish and American Lutherans. In Alsace-Lorraine, where permanent reconstruction is actually the responsibility of the state, aid has been both slow and meager. The Lutheran World Federa-

tion has therefore contributed substantially since 1948 to the program of church reconstruction both through grants and loans.

The synods of Paris and Montbéliard have also received funds for this purpose, but have used a larger portion of their grants for supplementing the extremely low salaries of their pastors. To stimulate the congregational life and the evangelistic outreach of the French church, a number of scholarships have been awarded to young French pastors for study abroad, and the American, Norwegian, and Swedish churches have sent personnel to assist in youth and parish work in the Paris Synod. With the slowly recovering economy the Lutheran churches of France have also improved their situations, and notably in the industrial areas around Strasbourg a more vigorous missionary outreach has been displayed. Large numbers of German refugees have also remained in France, and with the assistance of the Lutheran World Federation an extensive pastoral ministry has been provided for them. As a minority church the Lutheran Church of France has already been measurably strengthened through relations with its sister Lutheran churches. It has a National Committee, headed by Inspector Meyer of the Paris Synod, through which it maintains its contacts with the Lutheran World Federation.

Until 1949 there was no Lutheran Church of Italy. Thirteen congregations serving German diplomats, merchants, and resorters, and receiving their total support from the homeland, were scattered up and down the Italian peninsula from Venice and Genoa to Rome and Naples. When the war was over, only about 3500 Germans remained to make use of the chain of thirteen truly beautiful churches. After 1945 no help could come from either church or state in Germany, and therefore the American and Swedish churches took over the subsidizing of both pastors and church buildings. One of the first grants made by the United States Committee early in 1946 was for \$1350 for the salaries of two German pastors in Italy.

Cut off from the support of their home churches and eager to replace their purely German connotation with a more international affiliation, the Italian congregations in September, 1948, declared

their intention of becoming an autonomous Lutheran church, and applied in 1949 for membership in the Lutheran World Federation. Their application was accepted, and the subsidization continued as before, but with an increased emphasis upon the development of local responsibility within the congregations. Pastors continue to be supplied from Germany, but a theological student was sent from America for one year in 1949 to assist Dean Erich Dahlgrün at Rome. In recent years the first efforts have been made to open a preaching ministry in the Italian language, but it seems probable that for many years to come the Italian Lutheran church will remain a German-speaking minority, dependent for its survival upon the aid it receives through the Lutheran World Federation.

AUSTRIA'S FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND

Since the days of the Reformation there has been a Lutheran minority church in Roman Catholic Austria. Its earliest history was one of oppression and expulsion, later of toleration, and only after Emperor Franz Joseph's decree of 1849 was full religious freedom granted. The dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1919 reduced the Lutheran population greatly and left the church heavily dependent upon outside assistance, especially from Germany. Even this support was terminated with the end of the war, and more than 300,000 Austrian Lutherans found themselves faced with the task of maintaining their ministry, rebuilding many destroyed churches, and ministering to the needs of about 70,000 Lutheran refugees who crowded in from Rumania, Hungary, and other eastern countries. When Clifford A. Nelson visited Vienna for the first time in July, 1946, he was depressed by the "atmosphere of living death" which he found in that proud capital of Hapsburg glory, with the glorious Gothic tower of its shattered Cathedral of St. Stephan still standing amid the rubble "like a frozen, grief-stricken prayer."

Austria's first need was material relief for people trying to subsist in some cases on a diet of nine hundred calories a day. Three child-feeding programs were sponsored in successive years by the Amer-

ican Section, and both Sweden and Norway made Austrian needs a regular part of their aid programs. Student work and youth programs were encouraged, and the institutions of the Inner Mission received grants to enable them to fulfill their ministry of mercy among the needy.

In addition to the material relief which was channeled to Austria in the first years after the war and which still continues in significant amounts because of the disproportionately large number of refugees to be cared for by a small Lutheran church, large amounts of money have been made available for both physical and spiritual church reconstruction. According to a report of the Austrian National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation, more than \$555,000 has been received for these purposes between 1947 and 1956.

The largest part of this amount has been used for the construction and repair of church buildings, both in the older Lutheran communities and in the many new parishes which have been organized to meet the needs of the refugees. In these new areas, overwhelmingly Roman Catholic in population, both the small numbers and the diverse national origins of the Lutheran people have made the building of congregational life very difficult. Many times the gifts of money from the outside have provided the necessary stimulus for local efforts, and in the actual building operation, to which members have contributed both money and labor, a real congregational unity has been achieved. The establishment of these so-called "diaspora" congregations is one of the most important developments within the Austrian Lutheran Church since 1945.

Closely related to the church building program has been the substantial assistance which has been given to the pastors and church workers of the Austrian Lutheran Church. Parish workers and teachers have been provided for the scattered diaspora parishes. Because of the help of a special fund many a group of Lutheran worshippers is able to welcome a motorized minister who finds his way into their isolated Alpine village, not in a shiny sedan, but

astride a motor-scooter. Pastors' salaries, consistently far below standard, have been subsidized periodically, and the Lutheran Bishop has been supplied with a fund for the alleviation of cases of special need among pastors and pastors' families. One of the most encouraging examples of brotherly aid between near neighbors has been the substantial gift of more than DM 100,000 sent in 1954 and 1955 by the Bavarian Lutheran pastors to supplement the salaries of their Austrian colleagues.

Personal ties with the Austrian church have also been maintained both through the presence of staff personnel of the Lutheran World Federation in Austria and through various kinds of pastoral exchange. More than sixty Austrians attended the World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in Hannover in 1952, and Austrian pastors have been regularly invited to participate in conferences in France, Germany, and Scandinavia. Swedish and Norwegian church committees cooperated in 1950 to bring eight Austrian pastors to Sweden for a much-needed vacation. From 1950 to 1953 Dr. Julius Bodensieck served as a special commissioner of the United States Committee, conducting pastoral visitations and lecturing in the theological faculty of the University of Vienna. Although their functions were somewhat specialized, members of the staff of the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees also symbolized the close identification of world Lutherans with the problems of the Austrian church.

The physical assistance and the inner spiritual strengthening which have come to the Lutheran church in Austria through the Lutheran World Federation have been of incalculable importance in meeting the special problems of the postwar years. Without this help it is difficult to see how the Austrian church could have performed its ministry adequately. If church reconstruction grants, subsidies for refugee work, material relief supplies, and housing subsidies and loans are all taken into account, almost \$6,500,000 has been given in Austria through the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation. There is no doubt that this has awak-

ened the Lutheran Church of Austria to a keen awareness of its membership in a world family. Its major task within the coming years will be to throw off the sense of dependence and to develop a stronger sense of congregational responsibility which will lead eventually to full self-support.

YUGOSLAVIA'S LUTHERANS

The Lutheran church in Yugoslavia is a reflection of the composite make-up of the Balkan domain of Marshal Tito. No less than four separate churches—Slovakian, Slovenian, Hungarian, and Croatian—ranging in size from eight thousand to fifty-three thousand, and each speaking a different language, are needed to embrace the ninety thousand Lutherans in the entire country. An estimated 300,000 Germans, about half of them Lutherans, who had lived in Yugoslavia before the war, fled to Germany and Austria in 1945 and in subsequent years, thus leaving the churches considerably weakened as they struggled to recover under the regime of Communist Marshal Tito.

During the first four years after the departure of the Germans there was outright hostility against the churches, marked by the confiscation of several church buildings. During this period a limited number of cash grants were made directly to leaders of each of the four churches, but practically all of the \$90,000 in interchurch aid from the United States Committee up to 1952 was channeled through the individual package program directed by Pastor Louis Sanjek. After Tito's break with Stalin in 1948 the frontal attacks against the church ceased, although financial pressures and opposition to church youth programs continued.

By 1952 the diverse Lutheran elements within Yugoslavia had established a Yugoslavian National Committee for the coordination of church requests and the allocation of Lutheran World Federation grants, and therefore the package program was discontinued. In 1951 the first reconstruction project in Yugoslavia was undertaken when the government returned the previously confiscated church building in Sarajevo. When the dedication ceremonies were

held in the summer of 1953, a whole host of visiting churchmen representing the Lutheran World Federation converged on Sarajevo and then deployed throughout the country in visits which brought encouragement and new spiritual strength to the entire Lutheran church of Yugoslavia.

Although material aid with the approval of the government remained the largest single item of assistance mediated through the Lutheran World Federation, reconstruction projects continued to appear on the Yugoslavian requests as confiscated buildings were restored to the churches. Because of the grave shortage of pastors and the scattered location of many of the parishes special travel grants were also made. In Croatia, for example, one pastor was called upon to serve twenty-one different preaching places. Books and church literature have also been sent in large quantities, particularly from Germany, since most of the pastors in Yugoslavia are able to use this language as well as their own.

For the future of the Lutheran church in Yugoslavia the supply of young men for the ministry is a particularly critical problem. Since there is no Lutheran theological seminary in the country, the only practical possibilities would be to provide a Lutheran professor in the Orthodox faculty at Belgrade or to send students to Vienna or to Germany on scholarships. The latter alternative has been selected, and the German National Committee of the Lutheran World Federation has been especially helpful in securing scholarships at several German universities. However, since the Yugoslavian government has on several occasions displayed a reluctance to grant exit visas to its young men for purposes of foreign theological study, this solution of the problem of theological education cannot be regarded as a permanent one for the Lutheran churches of Yugoslavia.

CHURCHES UNDER THE CROSS: EASTERN EUROPE

The story of Lutheran World Federation aid to the Lutheran churches of eastern Europe is tragically abbreviated. In the first

years after the war the channels were still open into Poland, Hungary, and Czecho-Slovakia, and to a very limited extent into Rumania and Bulgaria. But in one country after the other the iron curtain descended and even correspondence ceased. The Polish and Czecho-Slovakian governments prevented any direct church aid after 1949. After the false arrest and deposition of Bishop Ordass in 1948, aid to Hungary was halted for eight years, until the restoration of the Bishop in 1956.

Ever since the relief efforts following the First World War, the Church of Poland had occupied a place of special concern in the minds of Lutherans in both Sweden and America. It was therefore not strange that two of the earliest relief ambassadors of these two countries should have met in Poland as early as 1946, surveying the physical and spiritual needs of the shattered Lutheran church there. Devastated, depopulated, with many of its church buildings taken over by the Roman Catholics, the Lutheran Church of Poland numbered about 120,000 souls, as compared with its prewar total of 500,000. Only sixty-three pastors remained out of three hundred. A pastoral conference which Clifford Nelson attended at Lodz opened with the reading of a list of twenty-one pastors, including the General Superintendent Dr. Bursche, who had died in concentration camps. The American guest wondered whether there had been a pastoral conference since the time of Diocletian which had opened under such dramatic circumstances.

Material relief came speedily to Poland from Lutherans in Sweden and in the United States. Blankets and clothing were followed by food shipments, and formal child-feeding programs were arranged. Salary supplements for church leaders, pastors, and lay workers, funds for the rebuilding of hospitals and schools in Warsaw and for X-ray equipment for a hospital at Wroclaw, and regular subsidies for the budget of the Church Consistory were provided. In the four brief years of grace more than \$300,000 in cash and about the same amount in relief supplies were placed at the disposal of the distressed Church of Poland by Lutherans of Scandinavia and America. Part of these cash gifts was also used for church reconstruction. The monumental Trinity Church of Warsaw, once

able to accommodate five thousand worshippers, was restored with this aid and with great sacrifice by the members of the congregation in 1950, only to be confiscated by the government shortly thereafter for use as a concert hall. Six years later, as a part of its new policy of rapprochement, the government returned the sanctuary to the Lutheran church.

One of the very few reports sifting through from the Polish church in 1952 gave some indication of the significance of the Lutheran aid program which had been accomplished in the critical years after the war. The number of pastors had risen to seventy-three, and although there was still a severe shortage, laymen were stepping in to fill the gaps. Sixteen students of theology were living in a dormitory erected in Warsaw with the aid of the Swedish church and the Lutheran World Federation. A few church institutions had been preserved. Youth groups, choirs, and Sunday schools were being maintained in the congregations, and most of the congregations were self-supporting. Offerings had been received for the rebuilding of twenty damaged churches and chapels, and the Consistory was administering loans for church reconstruction from the funds made available to it for that purpose by the United States Committee. Literature, however, was very scarce, and remains one of the crucial needs of all the Lutheran churches behind the iron curtain even today.

During 1956 and 1957 there have been encouraging evidences of a relaxation of restrictions upon the church in Poland, particularly in the matter of international contacts. Polish Lutheran delegates attended the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation at Vienna in February, 1955, and also a conference for Minority Lutheran Churches in Europe in Semmering, Austria, in April, 1956. Officials of the Federation were likewise permitted to enter Poland in subsequent months. It is to be hoped that these signs point to even greater normalization of relations for the Polish Lutherans with their brethren in other lands.

Lutherans in Czecho-Slovakia are divided into two churches, the larger of which is concentrated in the western province of Slovakia with 430,000 members, and the smaller along the Polish border

in eastern Silesia with 50,000 members. Reports of need in Czecho-Slovakia were among the earliest to reach Geneva in 1945, and through the World Council's Material Aid Division Lutheran relief supplies were already crossing the Czech border in the first weeks of 1946.

When the Reverend Clifford A. Nelson reached Geneva in April, the first assignment he received from Dr. Michelfelder was to visit the Lutheran churches of Czecho-Slovakia. On the basis of his discussions with Lutheran Bishops Cobrda and Osusky, Nelson recommended a series of special projects ranging from bicycles for pastors to child-feeding programs. Both in Slovakia and Silesia pastors' relief funds and supplements for pastors' salaries were provided, and a large grant was made for the establishment of a school to train lay teachers of religion.

In May, 1947, the American Section of the Lutheran World Federation placed Dr. J. Igor Bella in Bratislava as one of its first resident commissioners within any Lutheran church in Europe. For two and one-half years Dr. Bella administered the aid program there until he was ordered by the Communist Government, which gained ascendancy in February, 1948, to leave the country.

Under the new church laws passed by the Communist regime all church property in Czecho-Slovakia was transferred to the state, and all pastors and theological professors were placed on the payroll of the state. With the church thus under state protection, further assistance from outside sources was deemed unnecessary, and for several years thereafter the Lutheran churches of Czecho-Slovakia were even prevented from communicating with their brethren in the western world.

During the years 1946-1949, however, more than \$200,000 in cash and \$125,000 in relief supplies were sent into the country, mostly from American and Swedish Lutherans. Since 1954 there has also been a relaxing of travel restrictions to permit church delegations to visit Czecho-Slovakia and also to permit representatives of the Lutheran churches there to participate in conferences outside

of the country, both in Europe and in America. One of the very significant results of these renewed contacts has been the supplying of much-needed theological literature by the German Lutheran churches to the pastors and seminaries of Czecho-Slovakia.

Through the person of Bishop Lajos Ordass, elected at Lund in 1947 as Vice-President of the Lutheran World Federation and in 1952 as an honorary member of the Executive Committee, the Lutheran Church of Hungary has maintained an especially close relationship with the world family of Lutherans. His stirring message to the Lund Assembly urging his fellow Lutherans again and again to "work while it is day," took on even more significance after Bishop Ordass, returning to his country, was arrested by the Communist government on trumped-up charges of currency manipulation and sentenced to two years' imprisonment.

To Bishop Ordass and his 460,000-member church the earliest relief supplies and church reconstruction funds had been sent from Sweden and America in 1947. The Swedish Section of the Lutheran World Convention had given a grant of 10,000 Swedish crowns for a layman's school, and the first American aid had been used for salary supplements for the pastors and for youth work and child-feeding. The following year pastors' aid was continued, and considerable assistance was given to the home and institutions of the church. By the time of Ordass' arrest in 1948, more than \$500,000 had been sent to the Lutheran Church of Hungary through the regular official channels of foreign exchange, in addition to \$50,000 in food, clothing, and medicines.

After the Bishop's imprisonment, intimidated leaders of the Hungarian church deposed him and installed throughout the church officials acceptable to the Communist regime. The National Lutheran Council in the United States vigorously condemned his arrest and deposition as "a flagrant instance of religious oppression," and thanking God for his example of uncompromising steadfastness and devotion, pledged Bishop Ordass its "continuing confidence and loyalty." From this time on no further aid was sent

to the Lutheran Church of Hungary either by the Lutherans in America or by the Lutheran World Federation, although the new leadership continued to maintain its official membership in the Federation and even attended the Second World Assembly in 1952 at Hannover.

Just before the Hungarian Revolution of October, 1956, officials of the Lutheran World Federation and of the World Council of Churches were able to secure the full rehabilitation of Bishop Ordass by the Hungarian Government, with an acknowledgment that his imprisonment in 1948 had not been warranted. Shortly thereafter, Ordass also resumed his rightful position as Bishop of the Montana Diocese in Budapest. Member churches of the Lutheran World Federation in twelve countries demonstrated their support of the restored Bishop by contributing \$237,000 in less than six months to a reserve fund for the aid of the Lutheran Church of Hungary.

When Dr. S. C. Michelfelder wrote his report for 1949 to the United States Committee of the Lutheran World Federation as their chief Commissioner to Europe, he titled it "Gulfs and Bridges." These were the terms in which he thought of the far-reaching program of interchurch aid which began in the spring of 1945 with the flight of three Lutheran ambassadors of good will across the Atlantic and continued through the trying years of physical relief and rebuilding. At first those strands were weak and uncertain, but through the years they were increased and strengthened until at last strong bridges "supported by hundreds of cables of friendship, confidence, and mutual understanding" had been built, uniting Lutherans with one another in every continent on earth.

CHAPTER FIVE

Not Strangers, but Fellow-Citizens

Between 1915 and 1956 about 54,000,000 people in Europe were rooted out of their homes by catastrophe or by political pressures and cast upon the streets and highways to find whatever shelter and sustenance they could. In the words of Dr. Michelfelder, "Probably not since the days of Alaric and Attila has there been such a fantastic upheaval of peoples in Europe as the twentieth century has witnessed. And one of the prime sufferers has been the Lutheran Church."

Not only have people abandoned their homes and fled before the onrushing juggernaut of hostile armies, as they did in Estonia and Latvia, in Silesia and West Prussia, or in Palestine and Korea; but when the shooting wars have ended, millions of others have been rooted up by international decrees and sent stumbling and destitute into the remnant of conquered Germany or of partitioned Palestine or Korea or into some other land of exile. Twelve years after the end of World War II the grim tide still continues, with fugitives by the thousands, their future in a knapsack, daily braving a bristling iron curtain in their flight to freedom. "If the nineteenth century was the century of the emigrant, voluntarily seeking a better future," observes Dr. E. T. Bachmann, "the twentieth is the century of the refugee, driven from his home and native land

by the force of outrageous circumstances and despairing of a better future."

When the war ended in 1945, about 13,000,000 refugees were scattered over Europe from practically every nation on the continent. About half of them were able to make their way home without assistance. However, machinery was almost immediately set in motion by UNRRA and the armies of occupation to return other millions to their homelands, and within a period of three years, 2,100,000 Russians, 1,500,000 French, 874,500 Poles, 704,000 Italians, and 1,400,000 nationals of Yugoslavia, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, and Czecho-Slovakia had been repatriated. Only those remained in Germany, Austria, and Italy who, for political reasons, did not wish to return. These persons, numbering 719,351 in February, 1947, fell under the special protection of the International Refugee Organization and, after 1951, under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. It is this group, containing no German nationals whatever, which is technically known as Displaced Persons or DP's.

At the same time as the millions of DP's were being repatriated by the United Nations, an equally large mass of refugees was being created by the decrees of eastern European governments and by the Potsdam Agreement of 1945. More properly known as "expellees," these 13,000,000 people, all of German background or nationality, were ordered out of the countries where their ancestors had lived for centuries, or out of the provinces of Germany which were placed under Polish or Russian administration, and crowded into the four occupation zones of eastern and western Germany. They were entitled to no assistance or protection by the United Nations, but formed the core of the great relief problem shouldered by the occupation armies, German and international church and welfare agencies, and eventually by the German Government.

The third category of refugees in Europe today is the steady stream of political refugees from all parts of eastern Europe which continues to cross the iron curtain to the West in search of freedom and security.

MANDATE FROM LUND

It was to the plight of these millions of refugees, both as an international problem and a spiritual responsibility of the church, that the Lund Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation eloquently called attention in 1947. Others had already recognized the problem, the Assembly was quick to admit, but the scarcity of accomplishments was extremely disappointing. The Federation therefore adopted resolutions urging the United Nations to extend the activities of the International Refugee Organization to refugees and expellees of all lands without distinction of race, language, or nationality. To its member churches the Federation recommended the adoption of comprehensive resettlement policies on behalf of exiled or homeless Lutherans which, in 1947, meant one out of every ten Lutherans in the world. Upon its Executive Committee it urged assistance to the churches in devising resettlement plans and in safeguarding the religious life of Displaced Persons of the Lutheran household of faith. This was to be done specifically through the creation of a department of the Federation devoted to work on behalf of Displaced Persons and refugees.

The plight of large groups of Baltic Lutheran refugees in Germany had been brought to Dr. Michelfelder's attention in September, 1945, shortly after his arrival in Geneva, through a letter from a Latvian Lutheran congregation in Augsburg. In April, 1946, he called at the headquarters of the UNRRA in Bad Arolsen, and subsequently visited other UNRRA offices, in the company of Dr. Howard Hong, American professor who was working in Germany with the War Prisoners' Aid of the World's YMCA. The following month Dr. Michelfelder sent his recently-arrived deputy, Pastor Clifford A. Nelson to make a survey of the needs of the Displaced Persons and the Lutheran Churches in Exile. He ascertained that about one-third of the 700,000 non-German refugees confined in camps in Germany were Lutherans.

Out of these visits and surveys grew Michelfelder's recommendation that Pastor C. F. Schaffnit, retiring CRALOG representative

in Munich, be appointed for six months, beginning in December, 1946, to serve the material and spiritual needs of these exiled Lutherans. Mrs. Julius Bodensieck was attached to the staff of the World Council of Churches for a similar service in Lübeck, Germany, where there was a large concentration of Baltic Lutherans. By January, 1947, the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention was ready to establish a permanent Service to Refugees in Germany and Austria, and on Michelfelder's recommendation it appointed Dr. Howard Hong as director, to begin work the following June. Before Dr. Hong could undertake his new assignment in Germany, the Lund Assembly intervened, and it was decided that the Service to Refugees already established by the American Section should become the new refugee department of the Federation, as recommended by the Assembly.

It became evident very quickly that if any effective aid were to be given to the Lutherans in the semi-military environs of the DP camps in Germany and Austria, Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees would have to secure official recognition from the allied occupation authorities. Dr. Michelfelder took the first step toward securing this recognition when he approached the Preparatory Commission of the International Refugee Organization in August, 1947, to request its recommendation. On the basis of a written agreement which he secured in December, 1947, the Lutheran World Federation began a long and mutually fruitful relationship with the IRO in the field of refugee work.

MINISTERING TO THE CHURCHES IN EXILE

In its refugee program as well as its program of material relief and church reconstruction, the Lutheran World Federation has always conceived of itself as the channel through which the member churches strengthened and encouraged other churches in the meeting of their tasks. It has never sought to replace or to parallel

the work of its member churches. When Dr. Hong began the work of the LWF-SR in Germany, his main purpose was to be of assistance to the pastors of the Lutheran Churches in Exile in Germany in carrying out their ministry.

Several of these churches existed, though their membership was so dispersed that pastoral services could hardly have been organized without outside help. The Latvian Lutheran Church in Exile, with about 125,000 members and 110 pastors in West Germany and Austria, had its headquarters in the cramped quarters of Archbishop Teodor Grünbergs near Stuttgart. The Estonian Evangelical Lutheran Church, whose Archbishop Köpp was in Sweden with thousands of other Lutheran exiles, had 35 pastors and 30,000 members in West Germany. The Lithuanian Lutherans had eight pastors and 23,000 members in exile. About 2000 Hungarian Lutherans were being served by six pastors, largely in Austria. Poles, Ukrainians, and other smaller groups completed the total of about 185,000 Lutheran DP's in Germany and Austria in 1947. Three of these Exile Churches, the Latvian, Estonian, and Lithuanian, took their places as regular members of the Lutheran World Federation, and Archbishop Grünbergs was elected a member of the Executive Committee.

The Spiritual Ministry Program of the LWF-SR among the Exile Churches in Germany and Austria attempted to do for these churches exactly the same thing which was intended through spiritual reconstruction grants to member churches in Hungary, Czechoslovakia, or France. Pastors and congregations in the DP camps, however, had peculiar problems to face, in addition to their need for Bibles, hymnbooks, catechisms, communion sets, pastoral robes, and worship rooms. Pastors in the camps were DP's, just as everyone else, and they had neither salaries nor travel privileges which would enable them to carry on a ministry among their widely-scattered people. At this point the Lutheran World Federation as a recognized international organization was able to be of special help to the Exile Churches. Representatives of LWF-SR interceded

with camp commanders, IRO officials, and occupation authorities, and were able to secure free travel warrants for pastors, adequate worship space in the camps, and finally, even salaries for the pastors. From its own resources, largely provided by the United States Committee, LWF-SR issued bicycles to pastors, purchased material for gowns and suits, field organs, communion sets, and other church equipment.

Thus strengthened, the DP pastors undertook to organize their people into camp congregations and to minister to them as normally as possible. This involved a physical ministry, too, since every camp had its "special hardship" cases, for whom the regular camp rations were not adequate, and there were the ever-present war invalids and amputees. For these people LWF-SR organized a "congregational care" program and made regular distributions of food and clothing to the various camp congregations. Most of the supplies came from Lutheran World Relief, or were purchased with LWF-SR funds. Gifts occasionally came from other Lutheran sources, too, as in the case of the gift shipment of fifty food parcels from the Lutheran Church of Holland.

No spiritual ministry could be complete without an educational program. Pastors were painfully aware of the hundreds of children in the camp congregations, for whom no adequate instruction was available. One of the great deficiencies was that of hymnbooks and instructional materials in the languages the children understood. Here again LWF-SR stepped into the breach, first supplying paper for printing and later establishing a multilith press in Munich, from which the first hymnbooks, pamphlets, and catechisms began to roll early in 1949. Each of the Exile Churches was also enabled to publish a church paper in its own language and to send it into the homes of its scattered members in Germany, and in some instances even overseas. This press was operated largely for the benefit of these churches until 1956.

Teachers as well as teaching materials had to be provided before an adequate Sunday school operation could be conducted in the camp congregations. LWF-SR engaged and salaried two highly-qualified DP pastors to organize this entire program and to conduct

special courses and conferences for Sunday school teachers at the newly-established study centers. By January, 1949, ten thousand children were receiving instruction in at least five different languages from 275 teachers in 132 organized Sunday schools throughout the DP camps of Germany.

One of the most imaginative projects of spiritual reconstruction undertaken in these early years was the establishment of two study centers where an organized training program could be carried on for DP pastors, church workers and lay people. The first one was opened in April, 1948, at Imbshausen, in an old castle near the university city of Göttingen in north Germany, and the second shortly thereafter at Camp Insula in Berchtesgaden, at the foot of the Bavarian Alps. Though neither of these centers could offer luxurious accommodations, and though frequently there were fuel shortages and other physical inconveniences, the experiences of those who attended the Sunday school teachers' courses, the pastoral conferences, the youth leadership courses, and the lay-leaders' institutes were invariably refreshing and stimulating. "When one is living in a camp and observing all the events in camp life," wrote a Latvian teacher, "frequently a feeling of mistrust creeps into the soul and the cross of life seems too heavy . . . One longs for the moments in which to get new strength, to quench the thirst and to find peace of heart."

Together with the practical training for the work of the congregation came the very blessings which this camp-bound soul, and hundreds of others like her, so desperately needed. From the prosaic address of "IRO Camp, House 153-12" she looked back ten days later upon this "oasis in the desert." "Unforgettable will be the prayers in the small sanctuary, where we gathered in the late evening hours and prayed for ourselves, our kinsmen, our unfortunate native country, our nation, and the whole mankind. Indescribable is the feeling which entered the soul when Jesus touched it . . ."

In a little over two years more than four thousand DP's participated in seventy-four different courses given at these two centers. They became the spiritual centers for the Lutheran Exile Churches

in Germany and provided what many observers felt to be the most important single aid to their congregational life. Insula is today an old people's home for DP's, administered by the Inner Mission of the Lutheran Church of Bavaria, and Imbshausen is a theological seminary of the Lutheran Church of Hannover.

Still another specialized ministry which the Exile Churches were enabled to perform because of the strengthening hand of LWF-SR was the chaplaincy service to residents of homes and institutions and isolated camps. Described by one pastor as the "ministry to those who are alone," the chaplaincy service was organized and conducted by two pastors who visited all the institutions where Lutheran DP's were to be found, distributed literature, special foods and medicines, and established more permanent contacts for the patients with nearby pastors. One lonely patient bade farewell to the visiting chaplain with the assurance that she had now experienced the truth of the Gospel's words about the shepherd who had sought out the one lost sheep.

To meet their minor administrative expenses and later to provide a budget for the travel of the DP pastors from camp to camp, each of the Exile Churches received an annual cash subsidy from LWF-SR. Even after the Lutheran DP population in Germany dwindled through emigration from about 185,000 to 22,000, this subsidy was still continued in order that even the smallest groups of Latvian or Hungarian Lutherans in Exile might have a Gospel ministry in their own language.

LWF'S AMBASSADORS

In the early autumn of 1949 a quartet of American tourists drove up to a bleak customs office on the border between Belgium and Germany and presented their documents for the usual formalities. A tall, green-uniformed, young German border policeman inspected the passports and discovered that one of the party listed Madison,

Wisconsin, as her birthplace. "That's very near to Janesville, isn't it?" he remarked. "I spent several months there as a prisoner of war." And then, as if he was singling out the choicest recollection of that entire period of his life, the young man asked, "Do you know Howard Hong?"

It was a "one in a thousand" question, way up there on a back-road frontier in Europe, but it just happened that this American woman knew Howard Hong very well. And from the policeman's lips there spontaneously burst a characterization of the kindly YMCA worker who always had time for the prisoners he visited. "He was the finest man I have ever met."

The same quality of intense personal interest in people which had obviously characterized his work among prisoners of war, both in America and in Germany, Dr. Howard Hong was able to transfer into the spiritual ministry for Displaced Persons which he headed in Germany from 1947 to 1949. The basic principle of LWF-SR, according to Dr. Hong, was that Lutheran churches could best express their interest and concern for other churches and congregations through persons. Relief dollars and bales of clothing could both be given out of a heart of Christian love and compassion, but Dr. Hong insisted that the intentions of the donors and the significance of the gift could best be represented by a person coming in their name and in the name of the Lutheran church. It was a mistake, he contended, to regard expenditures to send such representatives among the congregations receiving aid as "overhead expense" which reduced the actual amount of cash available for physical reconstruction projects. The work of LWF-SR, declared Dr. Hong, was intended neither as "relief work" nor as social work. "The purpose has been to actualize an idea, an attitude, a relationship between persons and churches." When, therefore, as was actually the case, LWF-SR workers were referred to by members of the Exile Churches among whom they worked as "the Word made flesh," there was no blasphemy involved but simply a testimony to the fact that some very idealistic goals were being at least partially

achieved in the refugee program of the Lutheran World Federation.

Realizing full well the importance of making every relief dollar go as far as possible, Dr. Hong suggested to the United States Committee as early as February, 1947, the principle of voluntary service by selected college and seminary men and women. The first of these voluntary workers, Kenneth Senft, a theological student from Gettysburg Seminary, and Mr. and Mrs. James Anderson from St. Olaf College, entered Germany in July, 1947, and during the next two years sixteen others followed and were assigned to positions throughout Germany, many of which involved great responsibilities. What these young envoys lacked in maturity they made up in Christian idealism, vitality, ability to learn, and devotion to the tasks they were given. Under the guidance and inspiration of Dr. Hong they made a distinct contribution both to the life of the Exile Church communities in Germany, and after their return, to the better understanding of the European refugee situation by the churches of America.

LWF-SR was, however, not staffed only by volunteer workers. Especially after the resettlement operation was undertaken in 1948, salaried persons both from overseas and from the Exile Churches were engaged for various assignments in Germany. Between July, 1948 and July, 1949, the LWF-SR staff in Germany was increased to 195 persons, representing ten different countries. Thirty-five of these were enlisted outside of Germany, mostly in the United States.

The total expenditure for this two-year program of interchurch aid to the Exile Churches amounted to less than \$175,000. Most of the operating funds were provided by the United States Committee, but the Evangelical Hilfswerk in Germany made a contribution of 360,000 Reichmarks in 1947, and the Swedish National Committee paid the salary of the Reverend Hilding Olssen, who joined the staff in June, 1948. In addition to these contributions, LWF-SR also received more than 200,000 pounds of food and clothing which it distributed proportionately among the Exile Churches. A very substantial contribution to the work, which does not appear in the financial statements came from the International

Refugee Organization in the form of rent-free office space, travel warrants for train travel, gas and maintenance of vehicles, and salaries and maintenance of a large part of the locally recruited staff personnel.

ORGANIZING FOR RESETTLEMENT

Both before the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939 and during the war the National Lutheran Council had maintained a Refugee Service in its Department of Welfare, and as early as 1940 the Reverend Louis Sanjek was interviewing more than one hundred immigrants every month and referring them to Lutheran pastors for counsel and assistance. Just at the time the United States was thrust into the war the Department had prepared a congregational program for the resettlement of 260 refugee families in Europe who were begging to be brought to America.

The war naturally ended these efforts temporarily, but early in 1946 the first Lutheran war orphans, including twenty-four Estonians, arrived through the facilities of Church World Service, which had been authorized in December, 1945, to sponsor the immigration of DP's from the American Zones of Germany and Austria. By November, 1946, eighty-three Lutheran Displaced Persons had arrived in the United States on affidavits of support given by the American Christian Committee for Refugees. The National Lutheran Council Division of Welfare aided in finding resettlement opportunities for them. In August and September, 1946, forty-eight Estonians who had braved the Atlantic crossing in open fishing boats, landed at Miami, Florida, and provided the five Lutheran congregations of that city with a dramatic introduction to the European refugee problem.

Prominent in the resolutions regarding refugees adopted by the Lund Assembly in 1947 was a concern for the physical resettlement as well as the spiritual care of Displaced Persons. In December, 1947, as soon as the program of spiritual conservation for the 185,000 Lutheran DP's in Germany and Austria was fairly under way, Dr. Hong called to the attention of the United States Commit-

tee the necessity of fulfilling the other part of the mandate, which also involved the future of the millions of both DP's and expellees from eastern Europe. Early in 1948 a complete plan for a Resettlement Service was submitted with the urgent recommendation of Dr. Michelfelder, who saw in the mass movement of Lutheran refugees overseas an "unparalleled home mission task involving numbers equal to gains at home and on the foreign field in a whole decade."

Since 1946 an IRO fleet of thirty-six transport ships had been at work carrying thousands of Displaced Persons to Canada, Australia, and South America under government-sponsored schemes which promised jobs and housing in the new land. Under such schemes, which often simply "dumped" the emigrants into the country of reception, no provision was made either for spiritual care or social orientation. Both the Exile Church leaders and the LWF-SR felt the responsibility of doing what they could to find homes for these migrating members, to protect Lutheran interests, and even to channel the stream of migration into areas where the refugees would not be lost to the church.

At the time Dr. Hong submitted his plan for a Resettlement Service, the United States had not yet passed its Displaced Persons Act for the admission of 205,000 persons, but in May, 1948, when it appeared fairly certain that this legislation would be carried through, the United States Committee requested Dr. Hong and Dr. Michelfelder to come to New York to discuss the details of Hong's plan. According to his proposal a Resettlement and Emigration Division of the Lutheran World Federation would be established in Geneva under the direction of an executive officer, with area offices in the countries of emigration. Reception offices would also be set up in countries of immigration, locally financed wherever possible, but always closely coordinated with the central office in Geneva. It would be the special responsibility of these officers to develop resettlement opportunities for individual migrants and to assist them in establishing contact with a local congregation. Of great significance in later resettlement operations of the Lutheran World Federation was Dr. Hong's proposal that a revolving

fund of \$500,000 be established, from which overseas passage loans could be made to Lutheran migrants.

The United States Committee approved this proposal and appointed Dr. Stewart Herman in June, 1948, as the first Executive Secretary of the new Resettlement Division. In the same month the United States Congress passed its DP Act. Unlike the mass resettlement schemes of other countries, this legislation required jobs and housing assurances for every single DP family unit which was to be resettled in the United States. Since no government agency would assume responsibility to find and develop such guarantees, it was clear from the beginning that the voluntary agencies which had pressed for the legislation would have to do it. Likewise, the task of finding and selecting the DP's in Europe to fill these job and housing assurances gathered in the United States would have to be carried out by voluntary agencies such as the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees.

For this challenging assignment the new Executive Secretary was well-equipped by long previous experience in Europe, and especially by his services from 1945 to 1947 as a member of the staff of the World Council of Churches dealing directly with relief and reconstruction problems. During the ensuing four years, Dr. Herman devoted his extraordinary vitality and organizing ability to the shaping of the world-wide LWF-SR program. Under his direction it became not only an effective instrument for the resettlement and the social and spiritual reconstruction of thousands of refugees, but also a positive force for the strengthening of the Lutheran church in every continent of the world.

Between July, 1948, and July, 1949, the European staff of LWF-SR was greatly enlarged. To meet the requirements of the American program, twenty-four resettlement offices were opened in western Germany, from Lübeck in the North to Munich in the South. In August, 1948, as the mass schemes of various governments overseas began to be replaced by more selective schemes, influenced by the American pattern, LWF-SR opened an office in Frankfurt to counsel and sponsor Lutheran DP's emigrating to countries other than the United States. Headquarters were established for each of

the zones of occupation in Germany, with German headquarters at Frankfurt-Hoechst under Dr. Hong. LWF-SR staff worked with DP pastors in the camps, selecting candidates for resettlement. They were stationed in processing centers to assist Lutheran-sponsored DP's through the maze of IRO documentation and the medical and political screening of American authorities. From the time a DP registered for emigration in a camp barracks near Lübeck or Schweinfurt until he boarded a transport at Bremerhaven, he was assisted at every turn by LWF-SR.

Because of the legal restrictions upon the emigration of German nationals immediately after the war, the LWF-SR resettlement operation was at first confined largely to DP's. The Lund Assembly, however, had made no distinction between the nationalities of needy refugees, and Dr. Herman felt keenly the obligation to assist ethnic Germans in finding resettlement opportunities just as soon as the international regulations would permit. LWF-SR offices in Rome made their services available to ethnic Germans as early as August, 1948, but with the opening of a special office in Stuttgart, Germany, in June, 1949, LWF-SR became the first international agency to launch a resettlement program solely to assist ethnic Germans.

Since German refugees were not eligible for the assistance of the IRO, which provided overseas passage for the DP's, Dr. Herman urged that the travel loan fund, proposed at the time LWF-SR was reorganized early in 1948, be established in the amount of \$300,000 to provide passage loans for ethnic Germans to such countries as had indicated their readiness to receive them. The fund was established, and subsequently enlarged, and became the model for similar funds of other international organizations as well, most significantly for the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, organized in 1951 and supported by twenty-four nations.

The program for the emigration of ethnic Germans opened a new area of cooperation between the Lutheran World Federation and the German church. Whereas the registration of DP emigrants had been handled largely by the Exile Church pastors working with the field staff of LWF-SR, the German church had for many

years maintained an emigration service for the thousands of Germans who had gone overseas. In 1952 the Lutheran Emigrant Mission in Hamburg commemorated the one-hundredth anniversary of the founding of such work by Johann Hinrich Wichern.

In the years immediately following World War II German emigration was forbidden by the occupation authorities, with the exception of those who had been victims of racial, religious, or political persecution by the Nazis. In order to make information available to this group the Evangelical Hilfswerk established its first emigration counseling offices in 1946.

Pastor Gerhard Dietrich, who came to Germany in June, 1949, to head the new LWF-SR emigration program for ethnic Germans, established his office in Stuttgart with the Hilfswerk. Pastor Dietrich worked very closely with Dr. Ferdinand Schroeder, the director of the counselling service, and during the first year of activity he reported more than a thousand inquiries each month from persons interested in emigration. To handle the increasing volume of such inquiries as more countries overseas opened their doors to German immigrants, the Evangelical Hilfswerk developed a network of eighteen counselling offices throughout Germany, each of which received a part of its annual financial support from the Lutheran World Federation. In the actual counselling of prospective German migrants, however, the Lutheran World Federation has never been directly involved. As an international organization, it has simply acted as a "bridge" between the churches of Germany and the countries of reception. For prospective emigrants recommended to it by the Evangelical Hilfswerk, LWF has sought resettlement opportunities in other lands and has provided passage loans to thousands of emigrants for travel to countries overseas.

Since resettlement always involves two countries, it was also necessary for LWF-SR to make close contacts with immigration committees in countries of reception and to create such committees where none existed. In the United States the Lutheran Resettlement Service of the National Lutheran Council had been established in October, 1948, just after the passage of the Displaced Persons Act, and was already at work seeking assurances for 35,000

refugees, the number considered as the Lutheran "fair share" of the 205,000 persons to be admitted under the DP Act.

During an extended tour early in 1949 Dr. Herman succeeded in establishing Lutheran reception committees for immigrants in eight South American countries, notably Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, and Chile. In Scandinavia, Canada, and Australia, the Lutheran churches not only declared their readiness to receive refugees and conduct a spiritual ministry among them, but also prepared to support the world-wide program of LWF-SR with personnel, supplies, and funds. By the summer of 1949 the structure had been substantially completed, and more than three thousand Displaced Persons had already embarked for their new homes in the United States.

In June, 1949, the Spiritual Ministry to the Exile Churches in Germany was merged with the Resettlement Service, and the entire operation was placed under Dr. Herman's supervision. Dr. Paul Lindberg succeeded Dr. Hong as the Senior Representative in Germany. By this time LWF-SR had become a global operation, employing more than 265 full-time staff members throughout the world.

THE AMERICAN DP PROGRAM

With the passage of the Displaced Persons Act, it became necessary for the National Lutheran Council to set up a systematic program for the soliciting of job and housing assurances for the thousands who would be arriving in the United States within the three-year limit of the legislation. The Lutheran Resettlement Service was organized in October, 1948, and Miss Cordelia Cox, its Director, set immediately to work building a network of thirty-six area and state committees and a staff which within a year numbered ninety-five persons. In addition to the gathering and processing of assurances, immigrants had to be welcomed at the pier and started on the last lap of their long journeys by train or bus. Health

and family problems occasionally arose, or changes of sponsor became necessary, and the resettlement offices had to be prepared to provide such emergency services.

During the three and one-half years of the agency's operation, its expenditures totalled \$3,462,161, practically all of which came from the annual Lutheran World Action appeals of the National Lutheran Council. During these years the publicity and promotional channels of the Council were used to tell the story of the Lutheran DP and to present his need as the Christian responsibility of Lutheran people and congregations throughout the United States. News and feature stories, radio broadcasts, films, and the spoken word were all used to great advantage, but most important of all in the campaign to gather assurances were the members of the state and area resettlement committees, who worked with the pastors and the congregations and interpreted both the needs of the refugees and the technical questions involved in giving an assurance. The single most successful promotional venture was the production of a film called "Answer for Anne," which received a gold medal award at a Cleveland Film Festival as the best religious film of 1949.

If one simply notes that when the Displaced Persons Act expired on December 31, 1951, a total of more than 25,000 assurances had been given by Lutheran families and congregations in the United States, and that 38,254 refugees had been placed in Lutheran communities, the story has by no means been fully told. Each of these assurances represents the outreach and concern of the church for fellow-Christians in need, and each one of the 38,254 persons has through this outreach been assisted in retrieving a shattered life. In the ministry of resettlement the most constructive physical assistance of all has been given, namely, the opportunity to face the future with hope and build again. As far as the church is concerned, this ministry has been much more than an immigration program; it has been a projection of its belief in the Communion of Saints.

The program of resettlement, on the other hand, has been one

of the most difficult to maintain on the high spiritual plane on which it was conceived. By its very nature as an international movement of persons, it must involve governments, laws, immigration regulations, and technical procedures, in the midst of which even the most devoted Christian may find it difficult to keep his spiritual motivations in focus. Furthermore, whether it be done in a Christian framework or not, the transplanting of thousands of mature people from one country and way of life to another creates sociological and psychological problems, both for those who come and for those who receive them.

The contribution of cash or clothing to a drive for overseas relief or reconstruction demands far less personal identification with the object of one's compassion than to sponsor and receive a refugee, and is therefore a far simpler gesture of Christian charity. For this very reason, even with all of its complications, the resettlement program has brought to the receiving churches an especially rich experience in Christian living and Christian giving.

Generally speaking, the Lutheran Displaced Persons who have migrated overseas have been mentally and physically healthy people. They have been almost universally hard workers, in the best tradition of generations of immigrants who have built America, Canada, or Australia. They have adapted themselves within a relatively short space of time to the language and customs of the land, and large numbers of them have either joined existing Lutheran congregations or, in the characteristic pattern of free church life, organized their own. Naturally, the adjustments have been more difficult for the older generation, but within a few months only an expert would have been able to distinguish which of the two new youngsters in the fifth grade had come from Talinn and which from Toledo.

More difficult for both immigrant and sponsor to understand, and even more trying for the Resettlement Service than the problems of social adjustment, was the actual operation of the immigration machinery. To the camp-weary Latvian refugee in Germany the announcements of emigration opportunities in America were proclamations of hope, but as the weeks and months of processing

dragged on, he often wondered whether these hopes would ever be fulfilled. Likewise, the Minnesota farmer who needed a "hired hand" for the coming harvest and who had responded in good faith to the appeal of his church to give an assurance for a refugee family was moved to ask, sometimes rather sharply, "Why does it take so long?"

Between the refugee and the sponsor stood the representatives of the Lutheran Resettlement Service and the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees, trying to bolster the hopes of the one and answer the questions of the other, and steering the program through the ever-changing maze of government regulations and procedures.

Although more than 1800 assurances were sent to Europe by the Lutheran Resettlement Service in the first six months of operation, only forty-one refugees reached the United States. By 1949 and 1950, however, about a thousand Lutherans a month were being admitted, but it was clear that even if processing techniques were streamlined, several thousand DP's would be left stranded in the "pipeline" when the act expired on June 30, 1951.

In an imaginative effort to increase the efficiency of the assurance program, the Lutheran Resettlement Service sent ten volunteer workers to Europe in 1950 to write case histories based on personal interviews with refugee families. Since the normal procedure was for a sponsor to offer a job assurance, which would then be matched in Europe with an appropriate individual or family, this new system represented a reversal of procedure. Over 1700 of these "dossiers" were circulated in the United States, and as a result many of the neediest DP families who might not otherwise have found a sponsor were placed.

During 1950 the Congress also decided to extend the Displaced Persons Act till December 31, 1951, and to admit a total of 393,542 refugees, including 54,000 ethnic Germans not previously eligible for admission. Through its special offices in Stuttgart and Salzburg for the counseling of ethnic German emigrants, LWF-SR was able to prepare and send to New York 2300 dossiers, on the basis of which 4340 ethnic Germans found assurances and were admitted

to the United States before the expiration of the DP Act. Thereafter refugee emigration to the United States practically ceased until the enactment of the Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

THE REFUGEE RELIEF ACT OF 1953

With the exception of the ethnic German migration to Canada, the overseas movement of Lutheran World Federation-sponsored refugees had noticeably declined in July, 1953, when the United States Congress passed the Refugee Relief Act providing for the admission of 209,000 refugees over a three-year period, including 90,000 expellees from Germany and Austria. Early elation at the prospects for many of the long-time camp residents whose visas had not yet been granted when the DP Act expired in 1951, and for thousands of new refugees, paled as the voluntary agencies studied the restrictive provisions of the new legislation. Not only would it be necessary to give documented proof of available housing and employment, but only individual sponsors of documented financial ability were permitted to give assurances. For weeks and months the National Lutheran Council and other voluntary organizations vainly sought modifications of these regulations, in order to make the system workable from the standpoint of the voluntary agencies which would have to secure the assurances if any refugees were to be admitted at all.

With such uncertainty surrounding the workability of the program, it was extremely difficult to make either financial or organizational plans. The Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod, however, had expressed its desire to cooperate with the National Lutheran Council, and in March, 1954, the Lutheran Refugee Service was organized as a joint operation, with a four-year budget of one million dollars. The long experience of Dr. Cordelia Cox was again enlisted to direct the new operation. Still moving experimentally, the Lutheran Refugee Service set up its thirty-two area committees throughout the country, and the assurances began to come in. At the end of the year 2220 assurances for 5500 persons had been secured, but although the legislation had been in effect for seven-

teen months, only sixty-one Lutheran-sponsored refugees had been granted visas to enter the United States.

At the suggestion of Mr. Reuben Baetz, Deputy Director of the Department of World Service and resettlement specialist, the dossier system used in the last stages of the DP Act was readapted to the new program, and even before the first assurances were secured, a seven-member team had been sent to Germany and Austria to interview candidates recommended by the Hilfswerk and the Lutheran World Federation field staff. These interviewers and the several teams which followed them during the next two years prepared a total of 6631 dossiers which were circulated by the area offices of the Lutheran Refugee Service in all parts of the United States.

Assurances secured on the basis of these dossiers were then sent by the New York office to Washington and from there to the American consulate nearest the residence of the prospective immigrant. In order to help the refugee assemble the necessary documents and certifications, the Lutheran World Federation increased its subsidies to the Hilfswerk so additional staff could be employed. In spite of this fact the processing was seldom completed in less than six months. Most of the delay was caused by the five separate security screenings insisted upon by the Department of State before it would grant a visa.

When the visas were finally issued, travel loans were granted by the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration and passages were booked to the United States either by plane or on the *General Langfitt*, the special transport chartered by the Committee. The Lutheran Refugee Service maintained a port reception staff to aid the refugees when they reached New York, and the area committees made arrangements for their reception by their sponsors at the point of destination. When the Refugee Relief Act expired at the end of 1956, it was clear that the goal of 15,000 Lutheran-sponsored refugees which the Lutheran Refugee Service had set for itself would not only be reached but substantially exceeded. In addition, a total of 1200 Hungarian Lutheran refugees had been resettled in the United States by the end of January, 1957,

under the special emergency legislation passed by the Congress after the Hungarian Revolution late in 1956.

Because of the restrictive procedures required by the United States Government, American resettlement programs have involved a disproportionate expenditure of money and staff. However, at no time have refugees desiring to migrate elsewhere been neglected by the Lutheran World Federation. On the contrary, both LWF-SR and its successor, Lutheran World Service, have maintained special offices and committees in European countries of origin and have promoted resettlement opportunities for Lutheran migrants in all parts of the world. Although most of the DP's were moved under government-sponsored mass schemes, which did not require the technical assistance of voluntary agencies, the LWF-SR Individual Migration Office in Frankfurt assisted several hundred DP's after February, 1949, to find homes in twenty-six different countries which had no government-sponsored schemes. Special LWF-SR offices have aided and represented ethnic German refugees at consulates and immigration offices since 1948, pleading individual causes and seeking to open doors of opportunity in many different countries. When those doors have been opened, LWF-SR has facilitated the overseas movement of thousands of ethnic German refugees and DP's through its Revolving Travel Loan Fund.

NEW AUSTRALIANS

The mass migrations, both of DP's and ethnic Germans, have provided a special challenge to the relatively small Lutheran churches of Australia, Canada, and South America. In three years, from 1947 to 1950, the Lutheran population of Australia increased more than thirty percent. By 1957 it had risen one hundred percent. To meet this overwhelming influx the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia, with the support of the Lutheran World Federation, called Pastor Bruno Muetzelfeldt as full-time chaplain at the big government reception center at Bonegilla. His task was to contact the Lutheran immigrants as they arrived and to forward

lists of names to pastors in the communities to which the migrants were going.

Among the 20,000 Lutherans who entered the country during the first year were also a number of pastors, and with a fine understanding of the importance of the mother tongue as a means of holding the immigrant for his church during his first years in a strange land, the Lutheran church in Australia called these pastors to serve their own people. In the larger cities this led to the organization of several new congregations composed entirely of Latvians and Estonians, while in other areas the migrants found their church homes within the existing Australian congregations.

In its efforts to carry out a spiritual ministry for these new immigrants, the Australian church has received an annual grant from the Lutheran World Federation, which, however, it more than matched with its own subsidy to the new congregations. Gradually, the congregations themselves began to assume responsibility, and by 1956 the Immigration Board reported that four congregations had become self-supporting. Of the total home mission budget for 1956 more than fifty percent was contributed by the migrant congregations themselves. Toward this ministry the Lutheran World Federation contributed about \$55,000 between 1949 and 1956, in addition to maintaining the Australian Resettlement Office.

As the influx of DP's subsided, increasing numbers of German migrants began to arrive under Australian government sponsorship. Most of these needed no financial aid from the Lutheran World Federation, but since 1952 it has also been possible to assist a great number of individually-sponsored persons through travel loans. By 1956 more than \$300,000 had been granted for this purpose.

One of the very fruitful phases of the immigration program for the Australian Lutheran church has been the chaplaincy service aboard immigrant ships, made possible by the Intergovernmental Committee and the Lutheran World Federation. Fifteen Australian pastors have traveled to Europe in the past three years in order to provide a spiritual ministry for shiploads of immigrants coming to Australia. Not only have the new Australians been afforded an

effective preaching and counseling ministry on their long voyage, but the pastors have had an unusually fine opportunity for personal contacts with the Lutheran churches of Europe and with the work of the Lutheran World Federation there.

Since 1954 the Australian church has contributed a member to the Lutheran World Federation Resettlement staff in Germany, and for the past several years has given regularly to the aid programs of Lutheran World Service. For the Lutheran churches "down under," the European refugee has not only been a challenge to compassion, but a stimulus to vigorous home missionary activity and the instrument through which substantial bonds of unity have been forged with the family of world Lutheranism.

THE OPEN DOOR IN CANADA

One of the most vigorous and rapidly-growing young nations of the world lies in the northern part of the continent of North America. With a population of 15,000,000 spread over an area larger than that of any country in the world except the Soviet Union and China, Canada has had ample room for the one million immigrants who have crossed her frontiers since 1945. Among these have been representatives of almost every nation of emigration, and probably more Lutherans than lived in the entire country in 1945. Twenty-two thousand Lutheran DP's came to Canada under the mass migration schemes of the IRO alone in 1947 and 1948. Among them were about twenty pastors, of whom a dozen are still carrying on a spiritual ministry program among their countrymen.

A few additional DP's came later, either as parts of mass schemes or on individual assurances, but by far the largest number of immigrants were ethnic Germans. Primarily responsible for church aid to this group was Dr. T. O. F. Herzer, prominent Canadian Lutheran layman, through whose initiative the Canadian Christian Council for the Resettlement of Refugees was organized late in 1947. Lutherans, Mennonites, Roman Catholics, and Baptists cooperated in the CCCRR, the main objective of which was to bring ethnic German expellees to Canada to join their close relatives who

had been living there for many years. This scheme worked so well that in 1948 the CCCRR requested the Canadian Government's permission to bring to Canada groups of farm laborers and domestics who had no relatives there. When the request was granted, the Lutheran World Federation and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod gave Canadian Lutheran World Relief, the Lutheran member of CCCRR, a joint grant of \$100,000 to be used as a revolving fund for passage loans.

The first twenty immigrants arrived under this loan plan in August, 1948, with the understanding that they would repay their loans as quickly as possible and then assist their relatives to follow. As expected, these "seed" cases bore fruit, and the numbers of ethnic German Lutheran immigrants increased steadily. By May, 1952, more than 3100 persons had been assisted with travel loans amounting to \$105,000. In 1954 the peak of the Lutheran World Federation-CCCRR program was reached when 5104 Lutheran migrants were given assistance to come to Canada. Over the entire period from 1948 through 1956 a total of 18,299 persons have migrated with Lutheran World Federation and Canadian travel loans aggregating \$2,839,686. Energetic leadership has been provided for the immigration program of Canadian Lutheran World Relief by its Executive Secretary, Pastor Clifton Monk, in Winnipeg. Overseas, the humming headquarters of the CCCRR in Bremen was directed till 1955 by Mr. George Berkefeld. Canadian Lutherans have not only contributed regularly to the general program of the Lutheran World Federation, but have been frequently represented on its European staff as well.

When the new Department of World Service was organized following the Hannover Assembly in 1952, Dr. Henry Whiting, its first Director, appointed as his deputy Mr. Reuben Baetz, a Canadian layman who had first come to Europe in 1949 as a member of the LWF-SR staff in the British Zone of Germany. After a long and varied experience on the field, both in Canada and in Germany, Mr. Baetz brought to Geneva a thorough knowledge of the refugee problem and a familiarity with international agencies in this field which enabled him to make an outstanding contribution to the re-

settlement and relief program of Lutheran World Service. When Dr. Whiting returned to the United States in January, 1955, Mr. Baetz became Acting Director of the Department, and from September 1, 1955, until August 1, 1956, he served as Director.

In addition to those persons directly assisted by the Lutheran World Federation, there have been thousands of other Lutherans who have emigrated to Canada under various government labor schemes. Through its port representatives in Halifax, St. John, Montreal, and Quebec, and through almost a thousand congregations from the Atlantic to the Pacific, the Lutheran church of Canada has sought to reach them as well, but it has faced much the same problem of vast distances and limited resources as the church in Australia. Meanwhile these thousands constitute a home mission opportunity unparalleled in the history of Canadian Lutheranism.

SCANDINAVIAN WELCOME

Lutheran Displaced Persons have found homes in South America, New Zealand, England, and Ireland. More than one hundred Lutheran refugees, stranded on the island of Samar in the Philippines, and another smaller group in Communist Shanghai, were rescued by LWF-SR and resettled in the United States. Hong Kong has been a temporary haven for great numbers of European refugees from China, and LWF has assisted many of them to resettle either in their homelands or elsewhere in the world.

Twenty-five thousand Estonians found their first refuge in Sweden instead of Germany, and there Archbishop Köpp and twenty-eight Estonian pastors established the headquarters of the Estonian Lutheran Church in Exile. The Swedish Lutheran Church received these brethren cordially, and as early as April 1, 1945, the Swedish Archbishop created salaried positions for six Estonian Lutheran clergymen who were to serve their countrymen in six geographical districts. Other pastors were given archive work at state expense in Swedish congregations and ecclesiastical institutions. This arrangement was maintained until June 30, 1946, when political pressures caused its discontinuance.

In recent years the Swedish church has resumed salary payments to Estonian pastors, and has also continued to make churches, chapels, and occasionally local parish offices available without cost. Other church expenses are borne by the members themselves, or in the case of some general projects, such as the publication of a new Estonian hymnal in 1955, by special grants from the Lutheran World Federation.

One of the most exemplary chapters in the resettlement story is that written by the Scandinavian countries in welcoming Displaced Persons who could find no place under either mass schemes or individual assurance programs such as that of the United States Government. Early in 1952, as the International Refugee Organization ceased operations, a special church committee called *Hjälp åt Aldriga Flyktingar* (Aid to Aged Refugees) was organized for the purpose of bringing aged DP's to Sweden. Supported in its efforts by a general appeal signed by the Swedish bishops, this committee has found places during the past five years for one hundred thirty-four "hard core" cases from Germany, Austria, and Trieste, mostly in Swedish homes for the aged. International funds were first available for the transport and placement of these refugees, but their continuing support has been provided largely through voluntary collections gathered by the HÅF. In 1956 these gifts totaled almost \$200,000. In addition, the Swedish Refugee Committee of the Lutheran World Federation has found places for a total of forty-two other residual DP's, including several invalids and post-TB cases, and brought them to Sweden with the assistance of the Revolving Loan Fund of the Federation.

In the spring of 1950 the Norwegian Kirkens Nødhjelp cooperated with Norwegian Aid to Europe in a campaign to place a refugee family in every parish in Norway. Committees in four hundred fifty parishes were organized to secure sponsorships, with the result that one thousand Displaced Persons were brought to Norway, including several aged persons who were placed in old folks' homes. Thirty-nine blind persons were housed in a special institution established near Oslo with funds provided by the International Refugee Organization.

Following the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 Norway, Sweden, and Denmark opened their doors to 5500 refugees from that country.

THE GERMAN CHURCH AND THE HOMELESS FOREIGNER

When the mass schemes and the individual efforts to find new homes for the DP's had come to an end, it was clear that many thousands were destined to remain in Europe for the rest of their lives. These were known as the "residual group," and in 1951 they numbered about 130,000 in Germany, of which 20,000 to 22,000 were Lutherans. About half lived in camps and the other half in rooms or apartments scattered within the German communities. A few remained by choice, but by far the largest number were either old or sick or belonged to families in which one member or more had not been able to secure clearance for emigration.

From the beginning a legal barrier had been placed about the non-German refugees who were under the protection of the International Refugee Organization. As late as the summer of 1949 the Refugee Minister of the State of Lower Saxony was required to secure a special permit to visit a DP camp in his own state, and was accompanied throughout his visit by British officials and military police. Because of this artificially-imposed isolation only such recognized international organizations as the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches were able to secure access to the DP camps in 1947 and 1948 to assist the Exile Churches in establishing a spiritual ministry.

These legal barriers erected by IRO created a host of psychological barriers both in the minds of the DP's and of the Germans in whose land they were living. Under these circumstances it was not at all strange that the announcement of the forthcoming dissolution of IRO caused considerable apprehension both in the DP camps and among the Germans, whose responsibility the DP's were supposed to become after the closing of IRO.

In the quieting of these apprehensions and in the promoting of

fruitful contacts between the two groups, the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches played an especially significant role. As early as October, 1949, the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany had somewhat cautiously indicated its willingness to accept responsibility for the spiritual care of the DP's "wherever such acts of Christian fellowship are asked for." In spite of some objections to establishing a special program of service for a group of refugees which constituted only one-fiftieth of the total number of refugees in Germany, the Council agreed to ask its member churches to contact the DP churches in their areas and to proffer them this brotherly aid. More convincing was the offer of places in the homes and institutions of the Inner Mission for ten thousand sick and aged among the DP's, and the establishment of a permanent committee to handle questions relating to the "homeless foreigners."

Even with these positive overtures on the part of the German church and the many local efforts to establish cordial relationships which followed, it was evident that a more general framework of mutual cooperation must be established on the policy level. At this point LWF and the World Council of Churches acted as mediators, arranging a series of conferences which brought together the leaders of both the Exile churches and the German churches. The most significant of these conferences, held at Imbshausen in April, 1950, and attended by ninety-one representatives of churches and international organizations interested in the welfare of the DP's, adopted a set of resolutions establishing the main lines of policy for the future relations between the DP's and the German churches.

The DP Committee of the Evangelical Church in Germany was made a permanent part of the secretariat of the church, and was broadened to include ecumenical representation. The German Parliament was urged to establish the legal standing of the DP's in Germany, and a few months later that body responded with an appropriate statute specifying rights and privileges for the DP's similar to those extended to other refugees in Germany.

At Imbshausen and at the other conferences which followed at Koenigswinter and at Ratzeburg, Dr. Stewart Herman, Executive

Secretary of LWF-SR, sought to emphasize the importance of viewing the refugee problem in Germany as a whole. In the final solution of this problem, he said, the local settlement of both German "expellees" and residual DP's should be understood as the next immediate step.

Because of the peculiar psychological barriers which had existed between the DP's and the Germans and which were still in evidence, this particular phase was accompanied by special tensions and problems which would require the closest cooperation and understanding both by the Exile Churches and the German congregations. Due to the large numbers of Lutherans among the DP's in Germany, LWF-SR felt a special responsibility to assist in achieving this goal and was therefore ready to contribute funds, personnel, and the specialized experience it had accumulated in working with the Exile Churches since 1947. Looking back upon Imbshausen, Dr. Herman felt that one of the chief services of the conference had been rendered in the clarification of issues and in the promotion of mutual understanding and confidence among the participating groups.

One of the most concrete evidences of the readiness of the German churches to assist their Exile Church brethren to secure a spiritual ministry in their own language was embodied in the decision of the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany to undertake the salary payments of DP pastors according to a fixed and uniform scale. Here also the ecumenical organizations played a mediating role, eventually securing the attachment of each pastor to the provincial German church in which he resided. In a few instances the pastors also served German congregations in addition to their work among the residual DP's. All the provincial churches contributed to a general salary fund administered by their common headquarters, and from this fund the individual DP pastors were paid. Although the salaries were not high, they did make it possible for the Exile Churches to maintain a regular ministry among their scattered and constantly dwindling congregations.

Meanwhile, of course, the spiritual ministry program of LWF-SR continued, bringing supplementary aid in cash subsidies, material

supplies, and printing church papers and religious literature. With the IRO travel warrants no longer available, the Lutheran World Federation assumed the responsibility for travel costs for the pastors, funds for which it included within a regular annual subsidy to each of the Exile Churches. After 1952 when the functions of LWF-SR were taken over by the newly-created Department of World Service, this item remained on the annual budget for the Exile Churches as a continuing evidence of Lutheran World Federation concern. As late as 1957 five Exile Church groups in western Germany were receiving this travel and administrative subsidy to strengthen the ministry of about twenty-five Lutheran pastors.

Institutional care for the old, the sick, and the otherwise incapacitated was provided both by taking advantage of the existing homes of the Inner Mission which the German church had freely offered, and by erecting a number of large institutions especially for DP's. Hundreds of Lutheran visitors in Bavaria in the past seven years have been introduced to the Alpine-roofed complex of buildings of the Insula Home for aged DP's, nestled beneath the towering peaks of Berchtesgaden in one of the most beautiful spots in all of Europe. Through alert and persistent negotiations by LWF-SR leaders with officials of both German and American Governments and the IRO, this property was leased to the Inner Mission of Bavaria in 1950 as a home for more than 450 aged Lutheran DP's. For the renovation and equipment of this one home with the most modern heating and cooking facilities, the IRO contributed about \$250,000. Other institutions at Varel in Oldenburg and at Herzogsagemuehle in Bavaria have also received generous grants to provide care for the aged and rehabilitation training for DP invalids.

A far larger concern was felt for the many thousands of "homeless foreigners" who were not in need of institutional care, but who lived a marginal existence either in camps or in scattered DP "settlements" throughout Germany. Since these were the people who were left behind by the emigration programs, it was practically certain that some kind of social or medical service or some occupational rehabilitation would eventually be required. Even those who were physically well and able to work needed help in over-

coming the psychological barriers which made it so difficult for a DP to become an integral part of the community into which he had been thrust against his will.

Not content, however, with partial or temporary measures in meeting this extremely delicate problem, both international organizations and the German church agencies devoted exemplary efforts to achieve a final solution of the entire DP question in Germany. Beginning in June, 1950, in spite of a shortage of such personnel within the German church, the Hilfswerk and the Inner Mission assigned eighty-five social workers for the special care of "homeless foreigners." Supported at first by IRO funds, the World Council of Churches and the Lutheran World Federation agreed to pay a part of the salaries of these workers and in addition maintained a number of persons on their own staffs who worked closely with the German church welfare workers.

The Lutheran World Federation placed funds at the disposal of the Evangelical Hilfswerk to cover special needs of DP's, and under the leadership of Pastor Gerhard Dietrich also established a fund from which a refugee could receive small loans for the purchase of furniture or equipment necessary to establish himself in a trade. More and more, however, the responsibility for social welfare work among the DP's was relinquished to the Evangelical Hilfswerk until in 1956 even the Lutheran World Federation subsidy for the salaries of the special social workers was discontinued.

In their attempt to break down existing barriers on the local level between DP's and Germans, the German church social workers have sponsored great numbers of "parish evenings" throughout Germany, in which thousands of German and DP church members have learned to know each other. Youth rallies, summer camps, and pastoral conferences, frequently financed by the Lutheran World Federation, have also been conducted.

German church social workers have been active in seeking employment possibilities for DP's, among whom the unemployment rate has been disproportionately high, and also in placing DP families in the new housing projects of the German Government.

Both federal and state governments have set aside certain apartment units in designated housing projects especially for DP's, but in the interest of promoting better mutual understanding have sought to avoid exclusive DP settlements. As a result of these public housing programs, supplemented by grants from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, great progress has been made in Germany toward the elimination of DP camps.

THIRTEEN MILLION EXPELLEES

Beyond the special care which the German Government and the German churches were prepared to give to the "homeless foreigners" in their midst loomed the overwhelming problem of the 13,000,000 German "expellees," who had swarmed into the four occupation zones from eastern European countries and from the German provinces under Polish administration. International assistance had been made available for the resettlement of DP's, but it was expected that these other millions would be absorbed into the German economic and social life. The Lund Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation in 1947 branded such discrimination as an outright injustice. "Political powers may justify this as they will," stated the Report from Section Three, "but Lutheran Christians will, on the basis of the Gospel, find the refusal to render aid in the case of human need on an unprecedented scale neither comprehensible nor justifiable."

Nor did the stream from the East cease after 1947. Year after year it has continued, even to the present. Records of the German Federal Republic show that between 1949 and 1956 a total of 1,443,532 persons crossed the borders from the East Zone alone, and about 25,000 arrivals were being counted each month during 1956.

On any day of the year, a person may stand at the gates of West Berlin's huge Marienfelde Reception Center and watch the crowds arrive. Five hundred persons every day are being added to the refugee population, half of them young people under twenty-five years of age, for whom the spiritual and psychological pressures of the Communist regime in the East Zone have become unbearable.

After being both physically and politically examined, most of them are flown out of Berlin at government expense to find a place somewhere in the expanding industrial economy of West Germany or possibly a new beginning in some country overseas.

Only governmental resources could fully cope with the mammoth task of feeding, clothing, housing, employing, and rehabilitating these new arrivals and the millions of older refugees, a task for which the German Federal Republic spent one-third of its total budget in 1949. The refugees have been scattered through every community in Germany, and on the local level the church has contributed much both toward the physical and spiritual care of individual persons. Lutheran World Federation aid for the meeting of the German refugee problem has sought to strengthen the German churches themselves, that they might more effectively render these services. In this sense both shipments of material relief and the cash contributions toward church reconstruction have been substantial expressions of the deep concern of the entire world family of Lutherans for the German refugee problem.

Great energy and ingenuity have been displayed by the German churches as they have reached out to minister to the refugees in their midst. In West Berlin, where the population of the forty-three refugee camps seldom drops below sixty thousand in spite of the constant movement of government-screened refugees to West Germany, the Evangelical Hilfswerk carries on a vigorous social ministry through a network of community centers located in the vicinity of the larger camps. Built with funds received from foreign churches and staffed in large part by representatives of those churches, these centers are intended to provide some relief from the depressing camp atmosphere and also some contact for the refugees with persons from the outside world. The Bodensieck House in the French Sector of Berlin was built with American funds, the Scandiaheim with gifts from Norway, and three others with Swedish, Dutch, and Swiss help. Each year the Lutheran World Federation contributes to a Hilfswerk fund for the maintenance of all five centers. Spiritual services for the refugees are provided directly by the churches of Berlin.

Up in the lonely woods of north Westphalia the combined efforts of church and government have transformed the scattered buildings of a former ammunition dump into a thriving city of refugees, complete with homes, schools, churches, and industries. According to the decision of Allied military authorities in 1945, this vast complex of bunkers and warehouses and factory buildings called Espelkamp was scheduled for liquidation by British demolition squads. Through the intervention of a Swedish pastor, Birger Forell, whose name has become synonymous in Germany with unselfish Christian service to refugees, the action was halted, and the church was given a unique opportunity for social reconstruction.

Beginning in 1948 the project was carried forward in cooperation with the state. Within six months more than \$500,000 had been expended to lay out a street plan, water mains, and drainage system. One portion of the six-hundred-acre tract was set aside for schools and institutions, and both Norwegian and Swedish church contributions were made for the construction of children's homes. Another area was designated as the industrial quarter, and as soon as public announcements of the project were made, applications began to flow in by the hundreds from refugees eager to make a new start in their trades. The most difficult problem was the securing of capital for investment in these new industries, but even that was gradually overcome, and presently, in the empty halls in which had once been stored weapons of destruction there resounded the hum of the cabinet-maker's lathe and the roar of the metal-worker's hearth.

More than five thousand people, all refugees from the East, are now living in their own homes in Espelkamp, and expectations are that the population will grow to ten thousand. State aid is available both for the building of homes and the establishment of shops and small industries. And in the midst of the new city of refugees stands the church, built with gifts from the Svenska Kyrkohjälpen, and symbolizing the fact, well-known in Espelkamp, that the Gospel also motivates Christians to social action.

Another symbol of the reborn concern of the German church for the social as well as the spiritual well-being of its homeless

members has been its bold venture into the field of social housing. As early as 1946 a series of cooperative housing projects in the neighborhood of Heidelberg was undertaken by the church, and outstanding leadership was given to the movement by a Lutheran pastor in Frankfurt, Otto Fricke. The synod of the Evangelical Church in Germany in 1950 gave its official blessing to the efforts of these cooperative building societies as a means of reuniting divided families and strengthening the Christian home. Both the German provincial churches and the Lutheran World Federation have made substantial contributions to the operating capital of the societies, and in the past seven years more than 20,000 family housing units have been constructed. While this number does not represent a large share of the 2,000,000 units which have been built in West Germany, it was a pioneer venture on the part of the German church, demonstrating a keen sensitivity to the needs of its people in this postwar period and a determined effort to minister to them where they were.

Although Germany was called upon to receive far more refugees than any other country in Europe, her larger resources also made it possible for her to handle them more effectively than many smaller countries who received far fewer. The churches of Germany, too, with their well-developed institutional program and their large membership, became increasingly effective in their ministry to the refugees as they recovered from the shock of war. With the exception of the East Zone, which needs outside aid more than ever, the German churches are now fully capable of carrying their own load, even in the ministry to refugees.

LWF-SR IN AUSTRIA

The Lutheran Church of Austria, on the other hand, would probably have been in need of outside help even if it had had no refugee problem. But with its 70,000 Lutheran refugees crowding in from the East, help was desperately needed. This came first from the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention in the form of material relief supplies to ward off starvation among the

children, then as cash subsidies to relieve the needs of the pastors, and later through an emigration operation of the Lutheran World Federation.

Only 5500 of the Lutheran refugees in Austria were IRO-eligibles, and therefore from the time its office was opened in December, 1948, LWF-SR in Austria also served ethnic German refugees. Nevertheless by far the largest number of emigrants processed by the LWF-SR office under the direction of Miss Henrietta Lund and subsequently of Dr. Alvin Fritz and Dr. Ralph Wood were DP's, and by 1952 the total number remaining in Austria had been reduced to less than six hundred.

Responsibility for a pastoral ministry among the DP's in Austria was carried by the Austrian church, but a large-scale welfare program was maintained by the various branch offices of LWF-SR, which were staffed by twelve international and thirty-seven local workers. Two-thirds of all the relief supplies sent to Austria by Lutheran World Relief were sent directly to the Austrian Hilfswerk in Vienna, and one-third to LWF-SR in Salzburg. From Salzburg the supplies were sent on to the field offices, which handled the final distribution to individuals or to camps. More than 120,000 persons received relief supplies from these offices in one single year, and 10,000 interviews were conducted on resettlement problems, legal and personal questions. In keeping with the Lutheran World Federation policy of strengthening the local agencies, however, much of this activity was taken over in 1952 by the Evangelical Refugee Aid, a newly-organized branch of the Austrian Lutheran Church, and subsequently by the Austrian Hilfswerk.

Several special refugee projects have been carried on by the Lutheran World Federation in Austria, among them a unique survey and treatment of almost five hundred amputees, a Student Home in Linz, and a series of summer youth camps. To the latter program—under which an average of 700 undernourished children per year from 1950 to 1953 were given three weeks in a summer camp—the Norwegian and Swedish churches contributed a large share of the leadership and food supplies.

With 50,000 refugees in 1950 living in camps, and another 250,-

000 in substandard quarters outside the camps, Austria's housing problem was proportionately as acute as that of Germany. Acting on the principle that the most basic help to the refugee is that which takes him out of the camps and helps to restore his flagging self-confidence, the Lutheran World Federation granted a first loan of \$10,000 in 1950 for the organization of "Neusiedler," the first building cooperative of the Austrian Lutheran Church. Eleven students of an international work camp joined with the refugees in the construction of the first twenty-four-family unit beneath the shadow of the massive fortress of Salzburg, on a street named in honor of the Lutheran World Federation. During the six years which followed, 750 family units have been constructed in various parts of Austria, financed jointly by the contributions of the Austrian government, the churches of Norway and Switzerland, and the members of the cooperatives themselves. The Lutheran World Federation has made loans amounting to \$50,000 and has been instrumental in securing more than \$115,000 in grants from the Ford Foundation.

Since 1952 the Austrian refugee program of the Lutheran World Federation has been incorporated within the new Department of World Service, and until 1956 was directed in Austria by Pastor Ahti Auranen of the Lutheran Church of Finland. Under Pastor Auranen's leadership the Lutheran World Federation was able to mediate cash grants to the Austrian church from the Ford Foundation and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for special refugee projects amounting in two years to more than \$40,000.

The flow of material relief supplies to Austria has been substantially increased, but the Lutheran World Federation now depends entirely on the Austrian Hilfswerk for all distribution. It was because of the immediate availability of these stocks in Vienna that the Lutheran World Federation was able during two brief periods following the outbreak of the Hungarian Revolution in October, 1956, to send supplies of food and clothing to the destitute within Hungary itself.

The Resettlement Service, the Lutheran World Federation's pioneer operation in Austria, has been maintained without interrup-

tion. From 1948 to 1952 more than 7300 Lutheran refugees, mostly DP's, were assisted by LWF-SR in emigrating from Austria. Movements to the United States under the Refugee Relief Act have been handled by Miss Gertrude Sovik, an American of Norwegian background, born in China.

Immediately following the Hungarian Revolution the refugee operation in Austria was greatly accelerated in order to handle the large numbers who were being hastily processed and passed on to western European countries or overseas. By no means all were able to emigrate further, and they remained as an added responsibility for the small and already overburdened Austrian Lutheran Church, strengthened, however, by generous contributions from churches in all parts of the world.

LUTHERANS IN BRITAIN

The Lutheran refugee in Great Britain presented another special problem. Between 1946 and 1949 the British Ministry of Labor admitted about 100,000 "volunteer workers" from the continent, among whom were 40,000 Baltic and German Lutherans. The few existing congregations of German Lutheran background in the British Isles were themselves in financial difficulties and were not linguistically equipped to provide a ministry for most of these refugees. As soon as they became aware of this situation, both the National Lutheran Council and the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod took steps to provide assistance.

The National Lutheran Council asked David L. Ostergren, an American pastor who was doing graduate study at the University of Uppsala in Sweden, to visit London and ascertain the needs of these groups. Early in January, 1948, Pastor Ostergren consulted with Estonian, German, Latvian, and Polish church leaders in London, and together they extended an invitation calling together all pastors serving new Lutherans in Great Britain. The result was the formation in June, 1948, of the Lutheran Council of Great Britain, including representation from all the Lutheran groups, including the Missouri Synod. Pastor Ostergren was asked by the

United States Committee to remain in England as its representative, and he also became the Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Council of Great Britain.

Because of the primary concern of this program with refugees and Displaced Persons, responsibility for its supervision was transferred in 1949 to the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees. In 1953 Dr. Ostergren was designated as Senior Representative in Great Britain and Holland for Lutheran World Service.

With the financial assistance channeled through the Council by the Lutheran World Federation and the Missouri Synod, each of these groups was enabled to organize congregations and carry on a pastoral ministry in its own language. At the same time they participated through the Council in combined programs, such as Sunday schools, Bible camps, youth work, and theological study, which they could not have maintained individually. More recently Lutheran World Service has provided the entire subsidy, amounting in 1955 to \$73,182, the largest part of which was used for supplements to pastors' and church workers' salaries.

In 1955 a unique cooperative project was undertaken under the energetic direction of a young American pastor, Lloyd Swantz. Up in the green, rolling countryside of Northamptonshire the Council purchased a large country house called Hothorpe Hall, to be used as a youth and adult leadership training center. By enlisting volunteer labor from Lutheran congregations and arranging international work camps for students, Pastor Swantz was able to make necessary repairs and improvements, and in June, 1955, the first youth conference was held at Hothorpe Hall.

Developments such as this recognize the fact that there is an increasing use of the English language among the new Lutheran congregations in Great Britain. Youth work and student work are almost entirely in English, and the cooperative work among the church groups finds in that language its simplest common denominator.

Dr. Ostergren, who terminated his long service in England in 1956 and was succeeded as Senior Representative by Pastor Vernon Frazier, did much to encourage the development of stewardship

programs among the congregations, but about two-thirds of their total expenses are still carried by the Lutheran World Federation. A pastors' pension fund has been established, and the Lutheran Council of Great Britain is at present laying plans for the establishment of a capital expenditures fund for future building needs. Although at the present time it is the function of the Council to provide a framework for cooperative work among autonomous groups, there are definite trends within the Council pointing toward the eventual formation of a confessionally united Lutheran Church in Great Britain.

MINISTRY OF PULPIT AND PLOW

Although France did not receive large numbers of refugees after the war, the Lutheran churches established in November, 1947, a joint ministry to Displaced Persons and to the several thousand German laborers and prisoners of war who remained in France. Urgently recommended by Dr. Michelfelder and substantially assisted by the United States Committee, the new organization was known as CLAIR, or the Comité Luthérien d'Aide aux Immigrés et Réfugiés. Under the direction of Pastor Franck Gueutal, and for three years with the cooperation of the Reformed Church of France, CLAIR has carried on its program largely in the German language, in six regions throughout the whole of France. In several localities new Lutheran congregations were organized. The staff of CLAIR has been truly international in character, its nine pastors in 1952 representing France, Sweden, Switzerland, Germany, Latvia, and Norway. In 1955 the numbers of German laborers remaining in France having substantially decreased, the spiritual ministry of CLAIR was taken over by the three synods of the French Lutheran Church.

During its eight-year history CLAIR has also distributed relief supplies to needy refugees and has provided a transit service, especially in Paris, for emigrants from Germany and Austria on their way overseas.

Its most unique venture has been a colonization project in Mont-

de-Marsan, in southern France, where abandoned farm land was made available by the French Government for the resettlement of forty ethnic German refugee families. Under the resident supervision of a technical director, each family was provided with basic equipment for farming, including livestock and agricultural implements, and it was expected that after the first harvests were gathered, each family would take over the payments on the farm lease. Funds for the original investment were contributed by the Lutheran World Federation, the German Government, and the Ford Foundation.

Acutely conscious of the fact that the Lord of the Church was also once a refugee, born in a stable in Bethlehem, the Lutheran churches of the world have sought in every continent to find room for the homeless and the wanderers. The Refugee Service which they founded in accord with the mandate of the Lund Assembly established a strong chain of hands, stretching from church to church around the world. But there is much more to be done. As the Lutheran World Federation prepares for its Third World Assembly, ten years after the Lund resolutions were proclaimed, new refugees are being created in greater numbers than are being restored or resettled. This is still the century of the refugee, and we are still faced with the sobering word of Dr. Stewart Herman, spoken in 1951: "The final decision as to whether we shall all be refugees before this century is out depends on what we do for the refugees of today. The earth will never know peace as long as such a large percentage of its human inhabitants have no homes, no work, and no hope."

CHAPTER SIX

We Want to Help One Another

When the Second World Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, meeting in Hannover in 1952, voted to create a new Department of World Service, it signalized the beginning of a new phase of interchurch aid. The first phase had begun with Dr. Michelfelder's arrival in July, 1945, as American commissioner to the stricken Lutheran churches of Europe. Its primary emphasis had been emergency relief and reconstruction in the wake of the disasters of World War II, and subsequently, the ministry to thousands of refugees on six continents. Of this period Dr. Michelfelder became the living symbol, much as Dr. John A. Morehead had been in the years immediately following World War I.

There was never absent, however, from the minds of either of these men the hope and the desire that the brotherly hand which was extended through them would be firmly grasped and that a fellowship of enduring character would be established among the Lutheran churches of the world. Great strides were made toward this goal through the interchurch aid program even before the Hannover Assembly. As the most pressing emergencies passed, churches which had been receiving aid indicated their desire to participate in programs of assisting others.

Recognizing in such impulses promise of the fulfillment of the

original purposes of the Lutheran World Federation, Dr. Michelfelder sought to provide a channel for their more effective expression. To this end he proposed to the Executive Committee at its meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, in July, 1951, the creation of a new department through which member churches might coordinate their interchurch aid programs. On the suggestion of Dr. Paul Empie the name of Lutheran World Service, under which the service program of the Lutheran World Convention following the first World War had been conducted, was given to the new proposal. A conference was called in Copenhagen in December, 1951, to prepare detailed plans to be laid before the Hannover Assembly in 1952.

FULL MEASURE OF DEVOTION

This new idea for the more effective use of the Lutheran World Federation as an instrument of common service was one of Dr. Michelfelder's last bequests to the Lutheran churches of the world. Shortly after the Executive Committee meeting he left Geneva to attend the first Latin American Lutheran Conference in Curitiba, Brazil. From Brazil he flew to the United States to participate in the important "turn in the road" conferences of the National Lutheran Council. In the midst of a strenuous series of meetings mobilizing the churches for a new approach to their world responsibilities, God laid His hand on the shoulder of Sylvester Clarence Michelfelder and called him home.

A series of heart attacks, the first of which occurred in his hotel room in Chicago only a few hours after he had delivered an address to the staff of the CROP organization, was the cause of his death on September 30, 1951.

To his colleagues in the Federation and to the thousands of friends he had won during the six years of service he had given to the Lutheran churches of the world, Dr. Michelfelder's passing came as a severe shock. He had carried his sixty-one years easily and gracefully, and up to the very day of his collapse he had fulfilled his heavy schedule with youthful vigor. In view of the coming



Lutheran church in Milan, Italy.



Lutheran Church in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, rebuilt with Lutheran World Service funds.



Newly-built Lutheran Church of the Resurrection, in Caracas, Venezuela.

Hothorpe Hall, Lutheran center in England, sponsored by the Lutheran Council of Great Britain and Lutheran World Service.





Lutheran Refugee Service pastor interviewing youthful Hungarian refugees at Camp Kilmer, New Jersey, Reception Center.



Above: LWF Commission on World Service meeting in London in 1956, left to right: Bishop Volkmar Hertrich, Dr. Paul C. Empie, Pastor Henrik Hauge, Dr. Harry Johansson, Dr. Henry Schuh.

Consultation on stewardship and evangelism in the Lutheran Church of Hannover, Germany, left to right: Pastor Herbert Reich, Pastor Carl H. Mau, Jr., and the late Superintendent Theodore Laasch.



The Rev. Bengt Hoffman, Director of the Department of World Service, and Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist, LWF Executive Secretary, confer at LWS Commission meeting in London in 1956.

Right: Pastor Henrik Hauge of Norway listens to two Eastern European delegates at a conference for European Lutheran Minority Churches, sponsored by WF at Semmering, Austria, in April, 1956. Center: Dr. Jan Michaliko of Czechoslovakia; right, the Rev. Zygmunt Michelis of Poland.



Dr. Stewart Herman, Executive Secretary of LWF Committee on Latin America, addresses pastors of the multilingual Resurrection Congregation in Caracas, Venezuela.

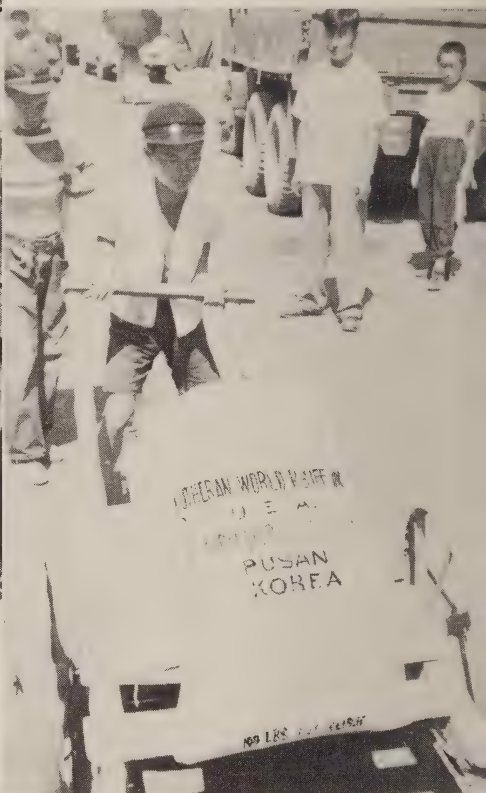


Refugee mother and son "at home" in Hong Kong.

Sewing class for Hong Kong refugees, sponsored by the vocational rehabilitation program of Lutheran World Service.



Lutheran World Relief food supplies reach Korea in 1951.



Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, which was to meet in Hannover in less than a year and for which Dr. Michelfelder had given so much of his strength and effort, his passing seemed tragically premature. The chief architect would be absent from the dedication of the structure he had planned.

There was another sense, however, in which his death marked the end of one era in the life of the Federation and the beginning of a new. Dr. Michelfelder was the embodiment of the truth that when the Church faces an hour of crisis, God raises up men of stature sufficient for the hour. The crisis of 1945 was one of human suffering and need, physical destruction, and broken relationships within the Church. God called forth a man whose strength was his great-hearted Christian compassion, his boundless energy, and his contagious conviction that the Lutheran churches of the world should walk together in mutual service.

When he spoke of Dr. Michelfelder at a memorial service in Hannover during the World Assembly in 1952, Bishop Nygren, President of the Federation, paid him a high tribute. "He was on fire with a holy zeal for the house of God, for God's children, a fire which consumed him. He could not bear the sight of destroyed churches, of wrecked and ravaged men and women. A vast work of reconstruction must begin at once, and he knew that he was called to do it."

"It is perfectly clear to all of us now," declared the Bishop, "that he was the right man to perform this service at this particular time. It is a proof of God's love of our Church that He gave us this chosen vessel at the right moment for the unification of Lutherans throughout the world."

To that call Sylvester C. Michelfelder was not disobedient. "Who am I," he had written in 1946 as he faced the decision of remaining in Europe or returning to his congregation in America, "to tell God where He wants me to be? I am ready at any time to go where He wants me to go."

This was the humble and devoted spirit, and yet the sense of urgency with which Dr. Michelfelder carried out what he called "the greatest challenge of my life." Those who were closest to him

were ignited by the same fire which consumed him, the fire of compassion for the suffering Church and its people. It was this quality which made Dr. Michelfelder the symbol of interchurch aid in the postwar years and the man who more than any other was responsible for the establishment of the Lutheran World Federation.

BLUEPRINT FOR SERVICE

Before he left Europe in the summer of 1951 plans for the Hannover Assembly were well under way. At its meeting in Tutzing, Germany, in 1950 the Executive Committee had selected the theme, "The Living Word in a Responsible Church." More than a convention motto, this theme was the distilled essence of Dr. Michelfelder's own theological position. The Word and the Church were always paramount in his thinking, but it was also his intention that the Federation be shaped in such a way that through it the Word should become action and the Church should publicly acknowledge its relation to society.

The fact that preparations for the Assembly continued without a break after his death was itself a tribute to Michelfelder's careful planning. It was, however, also due in part to the able leadership provided by the man who stepped into the breach. In April, 1951, Dr. Carl E. Lund-Quist had been sent to Geneva by the United States Committee as its chief European Commissioner, in order to free Dr. Michelfelder for his increasingly strenuous tasks of consulting with the various national committees and preparing for the coming World Assembly. He had worked with Michelfelder just long enough to become familiar with the developing plans, and it was therefore natural that the Executive Committee should ask him to serve as Acting Executive Secretary of the Federation until the Assembly in July, 1952. For this emergency assignment the United States Committee extended him a leave of absence.

Following the Geneva meeting in July, 1951, the next formal step in the creation of a Department of World Service was the Copenhagen Conference in December. Representatives of twelve

countries met to evaluate their continuing needs and to discuss the relation of the proposed Federation-centered program of interchurch aid to the various independent aid programs which had been carried on for many years. The Scandinavian churches particularly were concerned lest unnecessary administrative machinery be set up which might jeopardize direct and spontaneous relationships between individual churches. At the same time they recognized the value of coordinating these national programs and acknowledged the importance of the special international services already rendered by the Lutheran World Federation in the safeguarding of foreign mission properties in Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Palestine. Having given its unanimous endorsement to the proposal of the Executive Committee for the new department of the Federation, the Copenhagen Conference adjourned.

If Dr. Michelfelder may be called the father of Lutheran World Service, Dr. Paul C. Empie was its godfather. Not only did he contribute its name, but he was delegated by the Executive Committee to present it formally in an address to the Assembly in Hannover on July 31, 1952. After sketching concisely the historical backgrounds of Lutheran interchurch aid following two world wars, Dr. Empie drew a parallel between the Eisenach Assembly of 1923 and that of Hannover in 1952. Both had been held approximately a half-decade after the end of a war. Both were in large measure the direct outgrowth of the surge of compassion for the postwar needs of European Lutherans. Both were striking testimonies that the emergencies which confront the Church help to actualize God-given potentials which often lie dormant in years of peace and prosperity.

But after 1925 Lutheran world cooperation began to dwindle, with the result that the Lutheran World Convention itself began to lose some of its strength and some of the loyalties which had helped to create it. Only by working together, said Dr. Empie, could Lutherans grow together. Lutheran World Service might be only one instrument for cooperative work, but history had clearly demonstrated that it was an instrument which God Himself had especially blessed.

As he surveyed the aid programs of the member churches between 1945 and 1952, Dr. Empie singled out three major areas of service which he felt could be properly brought together in a coordinated program of world service. The first of these was church reconstruction and interchurch aid. Although the postwar recovery in Europe was making outside help for physical rebuilding progressively less urgent, there was still the need of ministering to the scattered Lutheran colonies and churches living as minorities in the midst of other more numerous communions.

Physical relief would likewise remain urgent. The plight of millions of people, either uprooted from their homes or living in the famine areas of the world, would continue to move the compassionate hearts of Lutheran people. By coordinating and pooling individual efforts, the Lutheran World Federation could increase both the scope and effectiveness of this ministry of mercy.

The third great area of service, described as "the most urgent and compelling need which still faces the church," was that of the refugees. The Mandate of Lund still stood, and the Lutheran World Federation could most effectively meet its acknowledged responsibilities through a coordinated program of world service, which would reach even beyond a spiritual ministry to those of the Lutheran household of faith to the millions of non-Christian refugees of the Near East and the Far East.

There was no question in Dr. Empie's mind concerning either the ability or the responsibility of the Lutheran churches to direct their energies into these areas of service. His greatest concern was that for one reason or another these churches might fail to grasp the opportunity and, as they had done once before, permit the great gift of Lutheran world unity to slip through their fingers.

This unity was not something to be grasped for its own sake, but rather as a means of more effective service in the Kingdom of God. "No Lutheran Church," said Dr. Empie, "should ever lose sight of the fact that it is part of a global, international fellowship which is tied together by bonds of common confession, by powerful spiritual traditions, and by deep convictions. The world Lutheran church knows no distinction of race or color or language. Its mem-

bers live in every part of the world, and refuse to be separated by social and political barriers." The Lutheran church, therefore, bears global responsibilities, and there is no other way to fulfill them except through cooperative action.

Within this framework, Lutheran World Service would become not only the extended arm of the Church reaching out to those in need, but also an effective means for enriching the spiritual vitality of the entire Communion of Saints. "In working together we teach each other; we inspire each other; we enlarge our horizons and sharpen our vision. We gain the strength to penetrate deeper across spiritual frontiers."

The guiding principles for the new department in the Federation were few and simple. Participation in its program was to be entirely voluntary, respecting at all times the independent and autonomous character of the member churches. Economy, flexibility, mobility, and global planning were to characterize the operation, and the entire program was to reflect the essential ideals of the Christian faith and implement some basic function of the church. Lutheran World Service was not to become a secular relief agency.

Dr. Empie's proposal to the Assembly also sketched briefly the operational lines of the proposed new department. It would function under the general direction of the Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, but program, policy, and annual budget would be subject to review by a supervisory committee appointed by the Executive Committee. The actual administration of the program would be in the hands of a Director elected by the Executive Committee and working under the Executive Secretary in Geneva. It would be the task of the Director to survey the needs of the churches annually and send his findings to the various national committees of the Federation. National committees would be free to respond either with direct financial support for specific projects or with contributions of money or personnel to joint activities coordinated through the Department of World Service.

On August 1, 1952, the day following Dr. Empie's address, Dr. P. O. Bersell presented a recommendation to the Assembly that a Department of Lutheran World Service be established and that

the Executive Committee be authorized to take the necessary steps to activate it. The recommendation was adopted without a dissenting vote.

THE LOCCUM CONFERENCE

Immediately following the Hannover Assembly the Executive Committee met to carry out the instructions of the Assembly for the setting up of three new departments: Theology, World Service, and World Missions. The Lund Assembly had marked the willingness of the participating churches to undertake emergency responsibilities cooperatively; the Hannover decisions reflected the desire to move beyond the experimental stage into a permanent program of cooperative study and service.

As members of the supervisory Commission on World Service the Executive Committee selected Dr. Paul C. Empie and Dr. Henry Schuh from the United States, Pastor Henrik Hauge from Norway, Dr. Harry Johansson of Sweden, and Professor Volkmar Hertrich of Germany. As Director of the Department the Reverend Henry Whiting, Executive Secretary of the Lutheran Welfare Society of Minnesota, was elected to a two-year term. May 1, 1953, was designated as the date for the official activation of the Department of World Service.

In the nine months which intervened it was expected that the necessary staff could be enlisted and assembled, program and procedures worked out, and national committees sufficiently oriented so that they could inform the Director either of their needs or of the resources they could make available to Lutheran World Service for its first year's operation. In order to facilitate these matters it was decided to hold the first meeting of the Commission on World Service in the Evangelical Academy at Loccum near Hannover on December 15-17, 1952, and to invite representatives of the national committees of twelve countries to participate in a World Service Conference at the same time.

At Loccum the Commission turned its attention first to the list of requests which had come from the various countries represented

and was immediately confronted with the necessity of determining some scale of priorities on the basis of which the limited funds could be allocated. Dr. Empie suggested that projects such as Services to Refugees, for which Lutheran World Service had a continuing responsibility and which by their very nature had to be done cooperatively, be supported from a general budget. Other projects could simply be listed, and recommended to the various national committees for their direct support. This would secure the "core" program of the Department, but at the same time provide room for the exercise of free choice of projects in which individual committees had a special interest.

Even more significant for the future of the program of World Service was the question of contributions to meet this ambitious statement of needs. With the gradual termination of emergency aid Lutheran World Service was to become a mutual agency for the strengthening of the Lutheran church in all parts of the world. This meant that churches which had thus far been cast by circumstance in the role of "receiving" churches should through World Service gradually become "giving" churches.

Beginning with the United States and Canada, each of the delegations declared its intention of making some contribution to projects outside of its own borders. The German churches had organized a special committee on World Service just three days before the Loccum meeting. With the termination of Russian reparations payments by their country the Finns hoped to begin regular contributions. Delegates from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden declared their readiness to continue support of refugee work through the Department of World Service in addition to the special projects they supported independently. Even the minority churches of Italy and Holland declared their desire to participate by extending invitations to needy pastors and children to spend vacations in their countries; and France, Austria, and Brazil each promised smaller cash support to Lutheran World Service.

Before the conference adjourned, the new Director of the Department, Pastor Henry Whiting, directed the attention of the delegates to the importance of the spiritual objectives of the program

of World Service. According to the "Preliminary Statement" adopted by the conference, the primary reason for the cooperative action of the churches through World Service was "to develop a more powerful global evangelical witness by the Lutheran Churches of the World."

With this goal clearly in view, said Pastor Whiting, the Department might profitably examine its organizational relationships within the Lutheran World Federation, with the national committees, and with ecumenical and governmental agencies and organizations. Beyond this Lutheran World Service would have to develop a staff of workers dedicated to its goal, program, and philosophy, and equipped with insight, understanding, and ability. The entire program must also be established on a sound financial basis.

ORGANIZING IN GENEVA

To these rather formidable tasks Dr. Henry Whiting turned his attention in the following months. Securing an early release from his responsibilities with the Lutheran Welfare Society of Minnesota, he spent several weeks in New York mapping the strategy of the new department, preparing a formal budget, and enlisting staff. Although his term of office was not scheduled to begin until May 1, 1953, he felt it important that he be in Geneva well in advance in order that the Department might begin functioning properly on that date.

Organizationally, Dr. Whiting's task was to combine the operations of the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees and the various interchurch aid programs of the member churches, particularly that of the United States Committee. Since October 1, 1952, Dr. John Schmidt had been Director of LWF-SR in Geneva, having come from Germany to replace Dr. Stewart Herman, who had returned to New York to direct the Latin American programs of both the Lutheran World Federation and the National Lutheran Council. Although greatly reduced from its peak strength in 1949,

LWF-SR still maintained a considerable staff both in Europe and elsewhere, working with the resettlement of refugees and the integration of Displaced Persons.

The United States Committee had had no chief European commissioner since Dr. Carl Lund-Quist became Acting Executive Secretary of the Lutheran World Federation, and was subsequently elected by the Hannover Assembly to a five-year term as the successor of Dr. S. C. Michelfelder. From 1947 to 1952 the United States Committee had conducted its own interchurch aid operation in Europe, but had made annual appropriations to the Geneva-directed LWF-SR program. When the member churches of the Federation agreed to establish the Department of World Service as their common instrument for supporting "Lutheran groups in need of spiritual or material aid," the United States Committee voted to discontinue its overseas operation and to place its full support behind the program of Lutheran World Service. Before concluding his services as European Secretary for the United States Committee in the spring of 1953, Dr. John Scherzer spent two months in Europe closing out Committee operations and arranging with Lutheran World Service to take over all unfinished obligations with funds furnished by the United States Committee.

Thereafter, instead of maintaining its own staff in the field and considering various direct requests for aid from churches and groups, the United States Committee regarded Lutheran World Service as its overseas agent for interchurch aid and refugee work and made allocations of funds on the basis of annual Statements of Needs.

Dr. Whiting's plans called for the appointment of a Deputy in Geneva to handle refugee matters and a series of Senior Representatives located in countries in which Lutheran World Service carried on its various programs of assistance. The Senior Representatives were to supervise all field operations and staff and to act as liaison for the Department with the national committees.

Mr. Reuben Baetz, veteran Canadian member of the SR staff

in Germany, became Dr. Whiting's Deputy. Dr. Richard W. Solberg was appointed Senior Representative in Germany, and Dr. David L. Ostergren for England and Holland. Pastor Ahti Auranen, who had supervised the relief operations for the Finnish Red Cross during the evacuation of the Karelian Peninsula in 1940 and directed the United States Committee's church reconstruction program in Finland, became Senior Representative in Austria. Dr. J. Igor Bella, United States Committee expert on eastern European interchurch aid, represented the Department to the minority Lutheran churches of France, Italy, Switzerland, Yugoslavia, and eastern Europe. In the Near East Mr. Christian Christiansen of Denmark undertook the direction of the LWF-SR program in Syria, and when the Department of World Service was assigned the supervision of Lutheran relief operations in Jordan in 1954, he was placed in charge of the entire program. Mr. Arne Fjellbu of Norway was sent in 1954 to South America, and when Lutheran World Service expanded its program in the Far East, the Reverend K. L. Stumpf of Germany was designated as Senior Representative in Hong Kong.

The preliminary statement adopted by the Loccum Conference had made it clear that Lutheran World Service was to be an agency created by and belonging to the member churches. New staff members were therefore chosen so that the insights and traditions of as many member churches as possible were represented. All appointments were subject to the approval of the staff member's home church and the concurrence of the national committee of the country in which he was to be stationed.

Having selected his staff and ascertained what financial resources were immediately available, Dr. Whiting moved to set up a unified pattern for receiving requests for aid. With the assistance of the Senior Representatives, national committees were asked to prepare their requests in project form for the endorsement of the Commission on World Service well in advance of its annual summer meeting. These requests were then compiled in a booklet called a "Statement of Needs" and sent out to all national committees. With the entire service program thus laid before them, the committees

were invited to respond with assurances of financial support, both for the general budget and for such special projects as they might select for the fiscal year beginning May 1.

SUPPORT FROM THE MEMBER CHURCHES

Responsibility for presenting the program of Lutheran World Service to the member churches and congregations in its own country was left to each national committee, and the pattern therefore varied considerably. In December, 1952, shortly after the Hannover Assembly organized the new Departments of Theology, World Missions, and World Service, the Executive Committee of the National Lutheran Council in the United States initiated action for the creation within its own structure of a Division of Lutheran World Federation Affairs. Plans took shape slowly, but at the annual meeting of the Council in January, 1956, the Division was created, with Dr. Stewart Herman as its Executive Secretary, and with departments corresponding to those of the Lutheran World Federation. Mr. Bernard Confer, Executive Secretary of Lutheran World Relief, assumed the direction of the new American Department of World Service, whose supervisory committee was charged with allocating the annual United States Committee contribution to the Federation's program of World Service. Since 1953, this contribution has averaged about \$875,000 per year.

Eager to assume its place among the "giving" churches of the Lutheran World Federation, the German National Committee moved even more quickly to establish its own Committee on Lutheran World Service. On December 12, 1952, this committee of six members was organized under the chairmanship of Superintendent Johannes Schulze of Hannover. Kirchenrat Karl Nagengast, who had served with distinction for several years as pastor among Lutheran refugees in the Bavarian forest at Cham, was named Executive Secretary and Field Representative.

Establishing his offices on May 1, 1953, in Stuttgart, where close contacts could be maintained with both the Evangelical Hilfswerk and the Lutheran World Service Senior Representative in Germany,

Kirchenrat Nagengast began his task of interpreting Lutheran World Service to the Lutheran churches of Germany. The motive for service, declared Nagengast, must be heartfelt gratitude to God for the blessings experienced by the churches and people of Germany during the postwar years. "We were not left alone in our need," he reminded his fellow-churchmen. "We experienced in overwhelming degree the help of the Christian world. Our hands were filled in order that we might minister to the needs of our land and our people. Now when we see others in need, we cannot pass them by."

There were still great needs in West Germany in 1952, when the German Committee on World Service was organized. Every church was struggling to restore its war losses and minister to the thousands of refugees in its midst. But the greatest need of all was that of the sister churches of the East Zone, to whose support money and packages flowed from the West in a steady stream. In view of this need, the German National Committee requested in 1953 that no further interchurch aid funds be allocated to West Germany, and that all available assistance be diverted to the churches in the East. Not only did this request serve to emphasize the critical conditions among the Lutherans behind the iron curtain, but it indicated that the Lutheran churches of western Germany were ready to participate both in spirit and in deed in the outreaching program of Lutheran World Service.

This good will had already been manifested when the German churches gathered a thank-offering following the death of Dr. S. C. Michelfelder and presented it to the Lutheran World Federation as a memorial to their great benefactor. To the general needs budget of Lutheran World Service in its first year the German National Committee made a contribution of \$15,670, and since that time its support has steadily increased. From 1953 to 1957 more than \$250,000 was gathered for relief and interchurch aid projects outside of Germany, most of which was channeled through the Department of World Service in Geneva.

One of the first projects to capture the imagination of the German Committee in 1953 was the flood-devastated Lutheran Church of

Holland, for the relief of which Kirchenrat Nagengast personally delivered a substantial gift of \$10,000 in cash and in beds and mattresses. Each year the German Committee has also selected a number of projects within the minority Lutheran churches of Austria, Yugoslavia, Switzerland, Italy, or England, and in recent years has extended its assistance into both the Near East and Hong Kong.

Since its beginning the Committee has displayed an increasing concern for the Lutheran Exile Churches in Germany. Through the headquarters of the Evangelical Church in Germany and through the Hilfswerk each of the member churches has for many years contributed to the salaries of the pastors and to the welfare needs of the "homeless foreigners." More recently the German Committee has taken over the support of Lutheran World Service projects for the promotion of closer relations between the DP's and German congregations, and has also provided theological literature and sponsored an annual conference for the Exile Church pastors.

As the West German churches have increasingly assumed the role of "giving" churches, the Department of World Service has gradually withdrawn its international staff from Germany. With the return of Dr. Richard Solberg to the United States in July, 1956, the position of Senior Representative was discontinued. However, he was replaced in Berlin by the Reverend Frederick Otto as LWS representative for East Germany. Mr. Laimons Pavuls continued his long service in Germany as liaison representative to the Lutheran Churches in Exile. Two international resettlement staff members, the Reverend Eugene Ries and Mr. David Graetz, remained in Stuttgart to cooperate with the Evangelical Hilfswerk. Sufficient interest in the work of stewardship and parish evangelism has now developed so that full-time persons have been designated in most of the German churches to carry on this work without the assistance of Lutheran World Federation staff.

In addition to the United States and Germany the national committees of Canada, Australia, and the Scandinavian countries have been consistent supporters of the World Service program. Since 1953 Canadian gifts have totaled \$72,000. Contributions of the Swedish National Committee have mounted steadily since 1953,

totaling \$80,132 up to May, 1956. With the appointment of Pastor A. Kastlund as its first full-time Executive Secretary late in 1956, it seemed likely that this trend in Swedish support would continue. The Danish National Committee began its contributions to Lutheran World Service in 1954, as did Norway's Kirkens Nödhjelp. Though seriously hampered by currency restrictions, the Finnish National Committee has managed to make regular contributions either in cash or in shipments of paper. In the face of an overwhelming problem of ministering to a Lutheran refugee population equal to its total membership, the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia has consistently contributed to Lutheran World Service since 1954. Symbolic of the manner in which fellow-believers in widely-separated parts of the world can be linked together in mutual concern have been such special gifts as those from South America and from the Batak Lutheran Church of Indonesia to the churches of East Germany, and the many similar gifts for Hungarian refugees.

WIDENING CIRCLES OF COOPERATION

When Dr. Henry Whiting presented his first report to the Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation in August, 1954, he described the work of the new Department of World Service as "a venture of supreme faith and love" on the part of the member churches of the Federation. "For the first time in the history of the Church of the Reformation," he pointed out, "member churches from the four corners of the world have determined to serve together in meeting their common tasks and common responsibilities." Although individual churches had been carrying on such service programs for many years, the bold decision to undertake them cooperatively called for new patterns and forms of action. The quest for these patterns has been one of the great tasks of Lutheran World Service in the first years of its existence.

The circle of cooperation extended beyond the membership of the Lutheran World Federation. Many of its member churches also belonged to the World Council of Churches, and in planning its

program Lutheran World Service sought to recognize these relationships within the larger ecumenical family. Fortunately, both geographical proximity and the traditionally close relationship that had existed since Dr. Michelfelder's early days in Geneva made this adjustment relatively easy.

Several of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation had given regular support to the administrative and service budgets of the World Council of Churches, and some of them had benefited from its program of interchurch aid. For many years the United States Committee has contributed from its "Cooperative Work" budget to the support of Church World Service in New York and the World Council in Geneva, and at present provides approximately ten percent of the cash budget of the World Council's program of Interchurch Aid and Service to Refugees.

Both Swedish and Norwegian churches have consistently supported this program, and the German churches, so warmly remembered by the member churches of the World Council in the past, are now contributing to its aid projects as well as those of Lutheran World Service.

The daily four o'clock tea on the Geneva campus has long symbolized a close relationship between the staff members of the two organizations. Dr. Henry Whiting served as a member of the Administrative Committee of the World Council's Department of Interchurch Aid and Service to Refugees, and great care has been exercised in coordinating programs of resettlement and material aid. Lutheran World Service staff members have participated regularly in the annual Consultations conducted by the World Council. In their dealings with intergovernmental organizations the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council have frequently made joint approaches, and there have been several instances in which a single staff member has represented both organizations in field operations.

As a recognized international organization dealing with refugees, the Lutheran World Federation has from its earliest days in 1947 maintained relations with many international and voluntary agencies established to assist in the resettlement, rehabilitation, or in-

tegration of refugees. Funds have frequently been made available through these organizations, and throughout the years they have provided a substantial source of income for the financing of the Federation's refugee program.

Some of the most significant grants have come from the International Refugee Organization, which ceased to function in 1952; the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who carries special responsibility for Displaced Persons; the Ford Foundation, which has channeled more than a half-million dollars through the UNHCR to the Lutheran World Federation for special refugee projects in Germany, Austria, France, Canada, Australia, and South America; the United States Escapee Program, which extends special administrative and welfare grants for the care of certain refugees from Communist-controlled areas of eastern Europe; and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, a twenty-four-nation organization for the assistance of refugee migration, which is still providing extremely generous financial support both for the Revolving Resettlement Loan Fund of Lutheran World Service and for the administrative costs of the program.

In a single year ending April 30, 1956, the Lutheran World Federation received from these outside sources a total of \$1,354,968 in special, earmarked funds for the assistance of refugees. One of the most substantial contributions to the refugee program and to the reputation of Lutheran World Service in the field of international welfare has been the relationship maintained with these organizations by Mr. Reuben Baetz, who succeeded Dr. Whiting as Director of the Department on September 1, 1955.

Still another group of organizations with which Lutheran World Service has dealt and whose activities it has in some measure sought to coordinate has been the various agencies handling the shipment of material relief. While it has conducted no relief campaigns of its own, Lutheran World Service has sought to serve its member churches by keeping its finger on the fluctuating pulse of human need in all parts of the world. On the basis of information which it has supplied, the various relief agencies of the member churches have been able to govern the nature and size of their shipments

and to avoid overlapping with other aid programs in the same areas. For example, both Church World Service and Lutheran World Relief in New York plan their large shipments to Germany and Austria on the advice of their international associates in Geneva, who receive the estimates of need directly from the Evangelical Hilfswerk in those countries.

In other areas, where distribution is handled directly by Lutheran World Service, specific requests have been conveyed to the gathering agencies in several countries, and they have responded with food, clothing, or medicines as needed. Typical of this service was the urgent cable received in New York during the Hungarian uprising in 1956: "Refugee population today 60,000. Urgent request plastic dishes. 1000 cups and saucers. 1000 soup plates. 1000 sets knives, forks, and spoons. Men's, women's, children's underwear 2000 each. Men's, women's, girls' stockings 2000 each. Hartig cabling additional food requests." Lutheran World Relief responded promptly with the requested supplies.

Services of this kind are in harmony with the charter of Lutheran World Service, which pledges it "to provide the member churches a common international Lutheran agency as they seek to meet in Christian love and compassion human need as it may develop in the world." In 1954 Lutheran World Service called a fifteen-nation church conference to evaluate the entire Lutheran material relief effort throughout the world, seeking to ascertain new areas of need which were arising and other areas in which improved conditions might warrant a curtailment of relief shipments.

WORLD SERVICE AND WORLD MISSIONS

As an adventure in cooperative Christian service on a world-scale by fifty-seven Lutheran churches in twenty-nine different countries, Lutheran World Service had many new frontiers to explore in its first five years. There was no dearth of tasks, but the new organization was frequently called upon to choose the type of tasks it would undertake and the areas in which it would work.

Certain responsibilities, such as physical relief, church recon-

struction, and services to refugees, had already been fixed during the years of emergency following the war. All of these had to be continued, but within many areas new emphases appeared. The concentration of concern for Europe, which had been characteristic of the early interchurch aid and material relief program, yielded to the broadening concept of global responsibility.

As early as 1954 the Commission on World Missions indicated that it would welcome a coordinated program by Lutheran World Service for the distribution of material aid within mission territory and among the churches of Africa and Asia. In the same year the Commission on Younger Churches and Orphaned Missions of the National Lutheran Council asked Lutheran World Service to assume direction of its relief program in the Hashemite Kingdom of the Jordan, including the operation of the Augusta Victoria Hospital for Arab refugees in Jerusalem. An invitation from the Lutheran Foreign Missions Conference to begin a program of material relief distribution among Chinese refugees led to a decision to expand the entire World Service program in Hong Kong and subsequently in Taiwan. In order to supervise the increasing shipments of material aid to India, Lutheran World Service appointed Pastor Steinhoff, a missionary of the Lutheran Church-Missouri Synod in South India, as its representative in August, 1956.

Because of these developments in the field of material relief and also because of the increasing interest of the Asian and African member churches in the interchurch program of Lutheran World Service, it became necessary for the Departments of World Missions and World Service to draw up a working agreement to prevent duplication of effort. It was agreed that Lutheran World Service should channel material relief into all parts of the world as emergencies arose, and develop welfare programs in strictly refugee areas to the extent of available resources. All such activities, however, were to be closely coordinated with the Department of World Missions. Requests for interchurch aid directed to Lutheran World Service were to be restricted to churches or groups which did not already have a working relationship with some other department or committee of the Lutheran World Federation. The increasingly

important role being played by the churches of Asia and Africa in all Lutheran World Federation affairs, and their eagerness to participate fully in all phases of the Federation's program, will doubtless call for a careful re-examination of the relationships between these two departments in the years ahead.

STRENGTHENING THE BRETHREN

When Dr. John Scherzer presented the closing report of the United States Committee on European interchurch aid in 1953, he summed up the trends which would characterize the program of Lutheran World Service in this field during the ensuing period. "The task of the church," he said, "is no longer chiefly that of answering the call of the hungry and the naked, as was the case three, four, and five years ago, but rather that of strengthening areas of church life which remain weak . . . and giving encouragement in those areas where the church has become weary and frustrated because of unrelenting pressures and unsolved problems."

Nowhere was this latter task more crucial and clear-cut than in the land of the Lutheran Reformation. There had been a time when all of Germany was in dire need and had received more interchurch aid and relief than any other country within the Lutheran World Federation. But in 1952 there were two Germanys. Western Germany had recovered sufficiently so that its National Committee had informed the Lutheran World Federation that funds for church reconstruction were no longer needed. But East Germany, with its thirteen million Lutherans, was still in grave need of both physical and spiritual aid.

At its first formal meeting in Copenhagen in 1953 the Commission on World Service placed the needs of these churches high on its list of priorities, and in each succeeding year they remained as the largest single concern of the Department. Nor does there seem to be much prospect that this situation will be altered. The atmosphere which is fostered by the schools and political organizations in East Germany is fundamentally opposed to the Christian faith. The church therefore is compelled to work against great odds, es-

pecially among the children and young people, as it seeks to foster and sustain Christian life.

Together with their sister churches in West Germany and several of the member churches of the World Council, Lutheran World Service has touched practically every phase of church life in the East Zone with its strengthening hand. Aid has been given toward the rebuilding and repairing of churches and institutions; paper has been supplied for the printing of theological and devotional literature; the religious education program of the churches has been supported; and through the welfare program of the Evangelical Hilfswerk the sick have been visited, the hungry fed, and the naked clothed.

Essential as has been this many-faceted program in undergirding the actual ministry of the churches, pastors and churchmen from the East constantly emphasize the spiritual value of the prayers and the gifts from Christian brethren in other lands. For those who are daily contending with clear reminders of the reality of organized enmity to the Kingdom of God, the knowledge that they are sustained by millions of fellow-Christians all over the world means even more than the gifts themselves.

Also included among the continuing tasks of Lutheran World Service in interchurch aid are the minority Lutheran churches and the scattered Lutherans living outside the boundaries of any organized church body. Such groups in Europe have long been assisted by the German and Scandinavian Lutheran churches and by such organizations as the Gustav Adolf Society and the Martin Luther Bund. In the years following the war, however, when most of these churches and societies were unable to extend their usual help, the Lutheran World Federation stepped into the breach. Lutheran World Service has continued to include the requests of these churches within its Statement of Needs, hoping that its encouragement, together with renewed assistance of their former patrons, might move these minorities gradually in the direction of self-support. Member churches of the Federation have also extend-

ed spiritual aid to these churches through gifts of books and literature, exchanges of persons, and occasional conferences for pastors and leaders. Such a conference for representatives of all the minority Lutheran churches of Europe was sponsored by Lutheran World Service in Semmering, Austria, in April, 1956. To this meeting came not only representatives of the western churches, but also from the Lutheran churches of Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, and Rumania.

INVESTMENT IN THE KINGDOM

In accord with the policy of encouraging self-support among the churches, Lutheran World Service has made increasing use of loan funds in place of outright grants. The United States Committee first made use of this system for interchurch aid to Germany and France in 1951-1952, having adopted the pattern of the overseas passage loan program of LWF-SR, begun in 1948.

It was the intention of the United States Committee that these funds should be repaid into a revolving fund which would then be available for further loans. The administration of the German fund, amounting to \$679,416, was taken over by the German Committee on Lutheran World Service in 1953 and up to May 1, 1957, \$28,000 in new loans had been made from the repaid principal and interest. Building projects of various kinds were financed; subsidies for publications granted; and loans for needy students were provided from these funds each year.

Loans totaling \$86,000 were made to the three synods of the Lutheran church of France, the largest being a \$50,000 loan to the Synod of Paris for the construction of three churches in 1952. As these funds are repaid, they will also be available for additional church extension work within France.

Following the flood disasters of 1953 in Holland, the 60,000-member Lutheran church in that country approached the Lutheran World Federation with a request for a loan fund to help restore

damaged structures and to build some badly-needed new churches, parsonages, and parish houses. Of the first \$30,000 grant made by the Commission on World Service in 1954, \$20,000 was used for the printing of a new edition of the Dutch hymnbook. So quickly was this money repaid that before an annual report could be prepared, it had been lent once more, this time for the construction of new buildings. With the assistance of similar grants the following year the Dutch church undertook the construction of churches in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Rotterdam, and several other important communities, and in each instance has made significant contributions from its own resources.

At its meeting in Ljubljana, Yugoslavia, in August, 1955, the Commission received a request from the United Evangelical Lutheran Church of Australia for the establishment of a capital expenditures fund. This small church, virtually overwhelmed by the flood of Lutheran refugees into the country during the past ten years, found itself in a position where it would have to curtail home mission work simply because it could not provide housing for the pastors in the new areas where work was required.

After a careful study of the request the Commission approved the first allocation of \$37,500 toward a fund of \$225,000, half of which was to be raised by the Australian church itself. A special feature of this plan called for the appointment of a specialist in home mission and stewardship work by Lutheran World Service for one or two years, to assist the church in mapping in its home mission strategy and in raising its portion of the capital expenditures fund. The Reverend David Fetter of Detroit, Michigan, a pastor of the American Lutheran Church, began this new assignment on May 1, 1957.

At the London meeting of the Commission in 1956 the Austrian National Committee was invited to prepare plans for the operation of a \$20,000 loan fund for church building and repair, and the Lutheran Council of Great Britain was likewise encouraged to lay plans for the eventual establishment of such a capital expenditures fund. It was clear from these actions of the Commission that the period of emergency grants was past, even among the minority

Lutheran churches. In harmony with the principles stated in its charter, Lutheran World Service was serving the churches "in such a way that they may be helped to become self-maintaining."

THE QUICKENING SPIRIT

One of the great contributions of the Hannover Assembly to the life of the member churches of the Lutheran World Federation was its strong emphasis upon stewardship and evangelism. American delegates had introduced these ideas to their European colleagues at the Lund Assembly in 1947, and the Assembly had appointed a subcommittee on stewardship and evangelism—composed, however, entirely of Americans. The primary concern of the churches at that time centered rather in the establishment of the Federation itself and the overwhelming problems of physical reconstruction and relief which faced them in Europe.

Gradually, however, as the emergency receded, pastors and church leaders in Germany began to display a lively interest in the virtually unknown churches and congregations in America which had responded so quickly and generously to their needs. Representatives of the United States Committee in Germany were frequently confronted with the question: "What kind of church and congregational life made these gifts possible?"

The discussions at the Hannover Assembly and the report of Section IV on Stewardship and Evangelism gave many of them opportunity for insights into the motivations of the American churches. Discussion continued after the Assembly in the new Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life, broadened now to include a more varied membership.

One of the questions most frequently raised was whether the concepts of congregational life operative in the free churches of America were applicable to the European situation, where the old principle of virtually universal, if frequently only nominal, church membership existed. Only when it could be demonstrated that stewardship and evangelism were sound scriptural principles dealing with the expression of the Christian life, and not merely

external techniques developed in an American setting for stimulating organized activity in the church, were Europeans ready to take them seriously.

One of the first churchmen to initiate a study of stewardship principles in his own church with a view to their practical application was Bishop Hanns Lilje of Hannover, President of the Lutheran World Federation from 1952 to 1957. Immediately after the Hannover Assembly he formed a committee of five members, including Pastor Carl Mau, the Lutheran World Service representative in Hannover, to study the American application of stewardship, to seek a theological basis for it, and to try to adapt it to German church life.

Even before the Assembly, Pastor Mau had been called upon frequently to lecture in German congregations and pastoral conferences on American church life, and as he became more familiar with the German church pattern, he was more and more frequently called upon for help in making the practical application of stewardship in individual parish situations. Together with Pastor Herbert Reich, who was subsequently designated as the Stewardship Secretary for the Hannover Church, Pastor Mau was instrumental in stimulating stewardship work in northern Germany to such an extent that other churches, both within Germany and elsewhere in Europe, established similar patterns of operation and appointed full-time men to carry on the work. In 1954 Lutheran World Service was asked by the German National Committee to appoint a second stewardship consultant to work in southern Germany, and Pastor Theodore Hartig fulfilled three years of fruitful service in that area. Since 1954 special emphasis has been placed upon visitation evangelism by carefully instructed laymen, and more than fifty congregations in the Church of Hannover alone have now established such a program.

In practically every one of the provincial churches of Germany at the present time, even in those behind the iron curtain, there is an active program of stewardship and evangelism. From Germany the movement has spread into Scandinavia, Austria, and Italy. Dr. J. Igor Bella introduced it in the Lutheran churches of

Yugoslavia and France. Dr. David L. Ostergren, Lutheran World Service Senior Representative in Great Britain and Holland, has done much to encourage stewardship in the churches of those countries, and together with Pastor Mau has given great assistance to the Scandinavian churches in establishing programs of visitation evangelism. As the result of several visits in Norway by Pastor Conrad Thompson, Director of Evangelism in The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States, great interest has been stimulated among Norwegian pastors in the American pattern of "Preaching-Teaching-Reaching" missions.

It is significant that this program of deepening the Christian life and expression of the European churches through programs of stewardship and evangelism should have been directly fostered by the Department of World Service, as well as the Lutheran World Federation Commission on Stewardship and Congregational Life. This is clearly one of the new emphases in interchurch aid which has grown out of relationships first established through the sharing of materials and money.

LEARNING FROM EACH OTHER

Very closely related to this type of spiritual interchurch aid is the new program inaugurated by Lutheran World Service for the exchange of pastors and church workers. Ever since the end of the war the exchange of persons has been used by governments, churches, and private organizations as a most effective means for the promotion of understanding and good will. Member churches of the Lutheran World Federation have had permanent representation in several European countries and have regularly exchanged visits by church leaders and pastors. Following the Hannover Assembly in 1952 the Lutheran churches of Germany made a special effort to invite visitors into their congregations, and Bishop Meiser declared such personal associations to be as important as the Assembly itself in achieving the mutual understanding so essential to interchurch cooperation.

For several years the American and British Governments have

provided opportunities for German churchmen to visit their countries, and the National Lutheran Council has arranged itineraries for many Lutherans who have visited the United States under such study programs. Since 1949 the German Government has extended similar courtesies to groups of visiting churchmen from both countries.

Student exchanges of all kinds have flourished since the end of the war. The program for theological students sponsored by the World Council of Churches has mediated scholarship grants for several hundred students from all parts of the world at leading theological schools, both in America and Europe. Member churches of the Lutheran World Federation have regularly supported this program financially and with scholarship opportunities at their own theological seminaries. In cooperation with the Department of World Missions, the Department of Theology of the Federation maintains a separate exchange program for theological professors and graduate students.

As the emergency aid program in Germany drew to a close, several German church leaders urged the establishment of a continuing exchange program to safeguard the close relations which had been fostered by the presence of personal representatives of sister churches in their midst. On the basis of a formal proposal from the German National Committee in 1955 the Commission on World Service incorporated in its Statement of Needs a fund of \$15,000 with which to begin such a program. Designed mainly for younger pastors and church workers, it sought to emphasize practical training in such areas as stewardship and evangelism, youth and student work, religious journalism, church music, and pastoral counseling.

Each national committee was asked to nominate candidates for three- and four-month assignments, and also to inform the Department of World Service of available exchange opportunities within its country. Selections have been made by the Department's supervisory committee. During the first year of operation seventeen exchanges were approved, and with an increased allocation of funds the numbers grew in 1956-1957.

This type of interchurch aid is one of the most promising contributions to the understanding and mutual trust upon which cooperative work is based. At the heart of the exchange program is the conviction that every church has something to give and something to receive, and that a closer acquaintance with living representatives of those churches brings mutual enrichment. In the coming years this phase of Lutheran World Service may be expected to develop into a major departmental operation.

NEW VIEWPOINTS IN LATIN AMERICA

The responsibilities laid upon the Lutheran World Federation and its member churches by the Lund Assembly for the care of refugees and Displaced Persons have been discharged throughout the past decade in a variety of ways, ranging from the support of a ministry in the DP camps of Germany to the resettlement and spiritual care of thousands of families in new homes all over the world. When refugees have come into a country where vigorous Lutheran churches already existed, these churches have opened their doors to receive them and have served them as far as their resources have permitted. More difficult has been the problem where Lutherans have been a scattered minority.

As early as 1948 the United States Committee and the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees faced this problem in South America, and to cope with it undertook a special program which has since developed into a significant "home missionary" venture. Lutheran work in Latin America is by no means a new development. Since before the turn of the century European and American Lutherans have sponsored missions, congregations, and synods whose total membership was well over half a million before World War II. Immediately after the war the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention sent a number of envoys to South America to ascertain the needs of Lutherans, and followed these visits with several small interchurch aid grants to the Lutheran church in Brazil.

It was through its Service to Refugees program, however, that

the Lutheran World Federation became directly involved in South America. Convinced that the responsibilities of the Lutheran World Federation Service to Refugees extended far beyond the mechanics of resettlement, Dr. Stewart Herman, newly-appointed Executive Secretary, visited South America in 1949 to make provision for a spiritual and social ministry to Lutheran World Federation-sponsored immigrants. If LWF-SR was to carry out its mandate properly, it would have to follow these DP's into their new homes, and wherever possible, assist them in establishing contact with a Lutheran church. To assist in this task Dr. Herman appointed LWF-SR representatives in eight South American countries.

In 1951 the National Lutheran Council organized a new Division of Lutheran Cooperation in Latin America and prepared to seek closer contact with the many scattered phases of Lutheran activity there. Dr. Paul Empie, Acting Executive Secretary of the new division, was asked to confer with Lutheran leaders in Brazil and suggest that they call an all-Latin American Lutheran conference in September at Curitiba, Brazil. On the proposed agenda were such topics of general concern as the coming Assembly of the Lutheran World Federation, the need of Lutheran interchurch aid in South America, the care of Lutheran refugees arriving in South America, the practice of Christian stewardship and evangelism, and a possible cooperative Lutheran witness in the Spanish and Portuguese languages. To this conference, the first of its kind in South America, came representatives of the Lutheran churches in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, Germany, and the United States. Dr. Herman and Dr. Michelfelder from Geneva brought to the conference the global perspective of the Lutheran World Federation. For the first time in their history the 750,000 Lutherans of South America felt a sense of their own strength and of their close spiritual ties with a world family of faith. In addition to creating a closer relationship between Lutherans of three continents, the Curitiba Conference also laid historic groundwork for a future ministry of the Lutheran church in the Spanish language.

The attention of the Conference was also called to the scattered Lutheran groups of German, Scandinavian, Baltic, and Hungarian background in many parts of South America who should be brought into direct contact with the organized church. Regarding this as an especially appropriate area for the services of the Lutheran World Federation, the United States Committee petitioned the Federation at Hannover to undertake an Area Program of Spiritual Service to Diaspora Lutherans, while the National Lutheran Council concentrated its attention upon the development of a ministry in the Spanish language. The result was the organization, a few months later in Hannover, of the Lutheran World Federation Committee on Latin America, with special responsibility for ministry among European Lutheran Diaspora groups in Latin America. Dr. Stewart Herman, who in the meanwhile had completed four years as Director of LWF-SR and had accepted the position of Executive Secretary of the Division of Latin American Cooperation of the National Lutheran Council, was also asked to serve as Executive Secretary of the Federation's Latin American Committee.

Since 1952 the Committee has been developing a pattern of multi-lingual congregations throughout South America, wherever there has appeared to be a sufficient concentration of Lutherans. Pastors from Estonia, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, and the United States have taken part in this vigorous home mission venture of the Lutheran World Federation, drawing together people divided in language but united in their profession of faith.

One of the most unique ventures in modern home missions has been undertaken in the Lutheran Congregation of the Resurrection in Caracas, Venezuela. After a survey in 1951 indicated that there were 3,000 unattached Lutherans of widely varied background in Caracas, it was decided to organize a single parish, with a ministry in the Latvian, German, Hungarian, and Estonian languages and a youth program in Spanish. The National Lutheran Council provided funds for the leasing of an old school building to be converted into a chapel, and in July, 1951, at Geneva, the

Executive Committee of the Lutheran World Federation consented to have this work done under the sponsorship of the Federation. By September, 1952, three pastors were on the field, and in October 425 persons braved a torrential rain and crowded into the chapel to adopt a constitution providing for three congregational "chapters": German, Hungarian, and Latvian.

An elementary school with fifteen teachers and 150 pupils, virtually self-supporting from the outset, was started in connection with the church. A little more than a year after the congregation was organized, it had 1,100 members, and after its second year the membership had risen to 1,684. In 1954 the congregation added a Scandinavian chapter and voted to buy land and launch a construction program of \$300,000. The Lutheran World Federation contributed a \$20,000 grant and a loan of \$80,000, but the congregation raised the balance. On September 4, 1955, the first service was conducted in the new, gleaming white sanctuary, and two years later the entire plant was dedicated, including church, parish house, and two parsonages. During the year of construction 48 children were confirmed and 49 baptized.

Other projects, only slightly less spectacular, have been developed in Colombia, Ecuador, and Peru. In almost every instance the congregations have grown rapidly and have steadily increased the extent of their self-support. As the growing congregations have needed church buildings, parsonages, and schools, the Lutheran World Federation has made grants and partial loans totaling \$280,720. Four-fifths of this amount will be repaid into revolving loan funds to be used again in the same countries.

Reporting to the Committee on Latin America in 1955, Dr. Herman expressed his conviction that the work of the past three years had been built on solid foundations. At the second Latin American Lutheran Conference in Petropolis, Brazil, in 1954, a new spirit of common purpose was clearly evident. A Lutheran Theological Seminary was being built at Buenos Aires to serve all of Latin America. With the arrival of a Lutheran pastor in Ecuador, every South American republic had at least one Lutheran congregation. In only a few years the whole of Latin American Lutheranism

had been strengthened by its closer contacts with the Lutheran World Federation.

What Dr. Herman said concerning the future of the church in Latin America might also be applied to the entire program of Lutheran World Service. "It would be foolish to assert that the greatest victories have been won. Indeed, they still lie ahead." That future, however, he pointed out, lies completely in the hand of God. "But it would be presumptuous on our part to tempt God by not redoubling our efforts to proclaim the gospel of Jesus Christ throughout the world" with every means at our disposal, both through the spoken word and acts of faith and love.

EMERGENCY IN HUNGARY

In the midst of its long-range planning and its new emphases in interchurch aid, Lutheran World Service was grimly reminded that the refugee is still the great problem of this generation. Into Austria, through a suddenly-opened breach in the iron curtain, streamed thousands of people in the wake of a revolution which exploded in October, 1956, against the Communist government of Hungary. Relief agencies of all kinds, both governmental and private, hastened to the immediate assistance of these refugees and even found ways to send relief supplies into Hungary itself.

In charge of Lutheran operations in this emergency was a Swedish pastor and former member of the World Council staff in Geneva, the Reverend Bengt Hoffman, who had become Director of Lutheran World Service in July, 1956, when Mr. Reuben Baetz resigned to accept a position with the Canadian Red Cross. For the thousands of refugees huddled in Austrian camps, shelter, sustenance, and medical care came first, and then the process of registration and emigration to practically every country in the Western World. In all of these efforts Lutheran World Service played a significant role, forgetting neither its responsibility to alleviate human need wherever it existed, nor its mandate to minister to the spiritual wants of the Lutheran household of faith. Trucks of

the Austrian Hilfswerk, carrying supplies made available by Lutheran World Service and accompanied by members of its staff, moved across the frontier within hours after the borders were opened. Important contacts were made in Budapest with Lutheran Bishop Lajos Ordass, who had been exonerated by the Government shortly before the outbreak of the revolution, and would very shortly thereafter be reinstated in his office.

A far more demanding task was the ministry to the refugees who had flocked into Austria and who continued to filter through the border for several weeks until a total of 150,000 had escaped. In order to make their part of the total relief operations as efficient as possible, the World Council, Lutheran World Service, and the Brethren Service Committee divided responsibility geographically, but each maintained a central office in Vienna and cooperated closely with the Austrian Evangelical Hilfswerk.

The response from the member churches of both the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council was overwhelming. Scandinavian church relief agencies collected a total of \$534,000, part of which they placed at the disposal of Lutheran World Service for the purchase of a building in Vienna as an immigration center for refugees being processed by the Austrian Hilfswerk and the Lutheran World Federation. Scandinavian gifts also paid the salaries of two mobile teams under the auspices of Lutheran World Service, aiding in the distribution of food and clothing among the refugees in Austria.

In a moving demonstration of Christian solidarity the churches of the entire East Zone in Germany contributed their Christmas offerings for the relief of the church in Hungary. The Evangelical Hilfswerk reported in March, 1957, that cash contributions of almost \$375,000 had been made by all German churches for Hungarian relief, and that well over one million pounds of contributed goods, valued at \$900,000, had been received, largely for the care of Hungarian refugees in Austria. Sixteen German deacons and deaconesses had offered their services to the Austrian church to

help meet the emergency, while the Hilfswerk and the Inner Mission in West Germany were ministering to approximately 2,000 Protestant refugees among the total of 15,000 admitted by the German Government.

In March, 1957, Lutheran World Service reported that it had received a total of \$400,000 in cash and \$800,000 in contributed goods for Hungarian relief from twelve member churches since November. Part of these gifts was designated for refugee relief in Austria and part was placed in a special reserve fund for the Lutheran Church of Hungary. In addition to the Scandinavian countries, Germany, and the United States, gifts were received from Lutherans in Finland, Canada, Australia, Holland, Japan, Luxembourg, Ireland, Venezuela, Argentina, and Ecuador.

Beyond this material support, Lutheran World Service was also able to mediate spiritual aid to many refugees, and when the governments of the Western World practically suspended their immigration laws to admit Hungarian refugees, Lutheran World Service expanded its resettlement staff and worked feverishly to assist with the cursory examination and documentation of Lutheran candidates for emigration. Agencies of member churches in the countries of reception likewise extended their facilities to the limit to serve the five per cent among the total who were likely to be Lutherans.

As Lutheran World Service faced its first major anniversary in 1957, five years after its creation at Hannover, there seemed to be no question that its ministry had become a permanent part of the work of the Lutheran World Federation. During the "century of the refugee" physical needs among the churches would not be eradicated, nor would emergencies ever be far from the surface. But the Hungarian crisis had demonstrated that the churches were far more sensitive to need, far better organized to respond, and, happily, more able to give than ever before.

But beyond physical emergencies, Lutheran World Service had discovered new areas of need which touched the inner life of all the churches. These needs could also be met more effectively

because the churches had begun to sense their mutual interdependence. At Eisenach in 1923 Dr. John A. Morehead had told his colleagues of the Lutheran World Convention in simple terms, "We want to help one another." A quarter of a century later, through the blessing of a gracious God, the Lutheran churches of the world had achieved the experience, the understanding, and the organization necessary to bring this goal within their reach.

Acknowledgments and Bibliographical Notes

One of the characteristics of new organizations and movements is that they are more concerned with making history than with writing it. Thus far this has been true of the Lutheran World Federation, which in this year of its Third World Assembly looks back upon ten brief but turbulent years of history making. The original suggestion for this volume came from Dr. Henry Whiting, who in 1955 was Director of the Department of World Service in Geneva, Switzerland, and who felt keenly the importance of preparing an account of these intense and dramatic postwar years before too much time had elapsed.

Written at the request of the Lutheran World Federation, this volume is simply the preface to a comprehensive history of the entire movement for Lutheran world unity which must be undertaken at some future time. Source materials have not been easily accessible, since the archives of the Lutheran World Federation in Geneva have not yet been catalogued. The extensive correspondence of Dr. Michelfelder and his colleagues in many lands, and the voluminous reports which have been collected by LWF, form the richest repository of information on the entire development of the Federation. These archives are being regularly supplemented by the records of LWF offices in all parts of the world,

which are slowly gravitating toward Geneva. Files of the World Council of Churches, located on the same campus in Geneva, contain additional valuable material, especially for the earliest years, 1945 to 1952.

The library of the National Lutheran Council in New York has also begun to assemble and organize the reports and correspondence of the American Section of the Lutheran World Convention which, together with the scattered files of the Central European and Scandinavian Sections, will form the basis for a complete account of Lutheran world cooperation in the decade following World War I.

In New York the files of the United States Committee of the Lutheran World Federation and the Minutes, Proceedings and Annual Reports of the National Lutheran Council from its beginning in 1918 to 1957 contain reports on the entire program of world service from the American standpoint. Complete files of Lutheran World Action brochures, the *Lutheran World Action Bulletin*, the *National Lutheran*, and the news releases of the National Lutheran Council News Service contain large amounts of factual data.

On the program of Service to Refugees, Dr. Howard Hong has assembled a valuable documentary and pictorial account of the Spiritual Ministry to the Exile Churches in Germany from 1947-1949. Dr. Stewart Herman's series of staff news letters contains a graphic account of the growth of LWF-SR into a world-wide organization between 1948 and 1952. Mr. Reuben Baetz's report, entitled *Service to Refugees*, published for the Assembly in 1952, is based upon these letters.

For the program of World Service since 1952, the Proceedings of the Hannover Assembly and the Agendas, Minutes, and Statements of Needs of the Commission on World Service are basic documents.

In many instances, summaries and reports are available through church periodicals and from national committees and other church-related agencies in individual countries. The Swedish National

Committee of the LWF publishes a quarterly called *Lutherhjælpen*, which gives valuable summaries of that committee's work. The reports of Kirkens Nødhjelp in Norway since 1947 are available in mimeographed form. In addition to its annual reports and a great amount of pamphlet material, the Evangelical Hilfswerk in Germany has published helpful three-year, five-year, and ten-year reports. Since its organization in 1952, the German Committee on World Service has complete reports on its aid program in mimeographed form.

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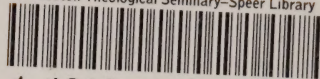
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